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CHILD LABOR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CHILD LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE IDEA OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

By Felix Adler, Ph. D.,
Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

The National Committee holds at this time its first public conference in the Southern States. Let me, therefore, as its chairman, succinctly indicate its scope and purpose. The first point to bear in mind is, that the committee does not propose to supplant, but to supplement, the state and local committees; it does not intrude on the province of these committees. It stands ready to give aid and advice, when invited to do so. It has, as a matter of fact, stimulated the establishment of state and local organizations, where previously such organizations had not existed. Again, it is conducting important investigations, which would be beyond the power of the local committees.

The National Committee is a kind of steering committee. It keeps steadily in view the fact that our country is passing more and more from agricultural into industrial conditions; and it seeks to prevent the recurrence of the evils incidental to incipient industrialism.

I have said that the Child Labor Committee is national, not only in name but in scope and purpose. I make this assertion because all sections of our country are represented in it, because it deals with a problem common to almost all the states, but chiefly because this Committee is attempting to eradicate from among our people a practice which is uncongenial to American civilization. My object, in the brief time at my disposal, will be to indicate the deeper foundations on which the attempt to abolish child labor rests. That foundation is, in a word, the inconsistency of child labor with Americanism, with the ideas by which American civilization is characterized. American civilization is characterized by the spirit of fair play. It is not fair for the strong to take advantage of the weak. It is not fair for the adult to put the heavy burdens which he ought to bear on the weak shoulders of a child.

American civilization is characterized by compassionateness to-

ward human suffering. Nowhere in the world, when that chord is touched, is the response so prompt. It does not comport with American civilization to behold without indignant pity the spectacle of the sufferings of little children. I mean the sufferings caused by forced and unnatural extension of the hours of wakefulness; the sufferings caused by deprivation of time and opportunity for play; the sufferings caused by the physical, mental, and moral deterioration which is the well-nigh inevitable consequence of premature toil.

But American civilization is characterized at bottom by a still more distinctive trait, and upon this I wish to dwell with all the emphasis at my command. Every civilization has, so to speak, its keynote, its *leit motif,* its dominant principle. Practices which are tolerable, even justifiable, in one civilization, are intolerable and unjustifiable in another, because in the one case the dominant principle permits and agrees with such practices, and in the other case the dominant principle does not. Thus, for instance, polygamy is perfectly tolerable in Mohammedan countries, because polygamy is in harmony with the dominant principle of Mohammedanism. The type of civilization worked out under the Koran is founded on the worship of power, God himself being regarded primarily as the omnipotent, and hence it has been natural for the follower of Islam to assert the rightful preeminence of the more powerful of the two sexes, and to maintain a form of the marriage relation altogether based on the supposed superiority of man and inferiority of woman. But polygamy in Utah is intolerable and unjustifiable; not for abstract reasons, but because it is uncongenial to American civilization, for American civilization has for its dominant principle the moral equality of all human beings, both of men as compared with men, and of woman as compared with man.

And on precisely the same grounds we assert that child labor is intolerable and unjustifiable, namely, because it is contradictory to the dominant principle, the fundamental idea of the civilization which is being developed on this continent. That dominant principle is the moral equality of all human beings, the right of each human being to freely develop and even when necessary to be assisted in developing whatever gifts of mind, whatever talent, whatever potentialities Nature has given him. To cut off development, therefore, from the American point of view, is the

great sin. To impose heavy weights which are bound to check physical growth, and by preventing education in the years when the intellect and the character are formative, to stunt mental and moral growth, that is the unpardonable offense.

Lincoln said in an address which he delivered in 1859: "There are more mines above the earth's surface than below it." What he meant was, that the mental and moral nature of the mass of men is a precious mine. We shall find plenty of gold in it if only we look for it. To bring this gold to the surface, is to contribute in the truest sense to the national welfare and well being.

I think that those who commit the offense against the child are hypnotized by greed; I think that it is the duty of the community to deliver them from such obsession, and to bring home to them the sense of their responsibility. No one should lay profane hands upon a sacred thing, and what is more sacred than the life of a child, and the hope for humanity that lies in every child? In spoiling the child, we spoil the generation that is to come after us. In laying the burden of premature labor upon the young, we deprive the Republic of the citizenship to which it is entitled.

Before the jury of the American people we plead for the child, and before you as a part of that jury. Need we have any apprehension as to the verdict you will return? Those of you who are strong men will side with us against taking advantage of the weak. Those of you who are parents, imagining for a moment your own children as taking the place of those who are at work in the mills, will cry out with horror and indignation at the practice, and will join us in the effort to save the little ones. Those of you who continue to believe in the great principles to which this country is dedicated, the equality of men and the progress of mankind, will join us in condemning a system that is fraught with inequality and incompatible with progress. All of you, I make bold to believe, will unite with us in saying that the shield of the state must be held over the child to protect it, and that the iniquity of child labor must cease, wherever in this broad land it now exists. The genius of American civilization condemns it. Americans, mindful of their heritage, will unite to abolish it.

THE NEW VIEW OF THE CHILD

By Edward T. Devine, Ph.D.,
Secretary, Charity Organization Society, and Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University, New York City.

On Wednesday night of this week, I happened to sit at dinner by the side of a gentleman who lives in Brooklyn, and raises cotton in the Panhandle of Texas. We were discussing unemployment and the strange perversity of immigrants and others, which leads them to stay in the cities when there is crying need for their labor on farms and plantations. He waxed eloquent over the splendid opportunities afforded in his section of Texas. Negroes are not allowed there, and the field is clear for the native or the imported white; wages are good at cotton picking—as high this year as a dollar and a quarter a hundred—but even at sixty or seventy-five cents he assured me a man with a family could easily in two or three years rise from the position of a laborer to that of a tenant or landowner. And this is the explanation—that a man's wealth, that is to say, his income, depends on the number of children he has. I asked him how early the children began to work, and he said without hesitation, "At six and younger. I recall," he said, "one boy of six who earned 50 cents a day the season through." He had described the way the bag is slung about the neck and dragged on the ground behind so that the picker may use both hands. I inquired how big a boy had to be before he was strong enough to drag one of these bags, and he said, "Well, you see we make the bag to fit the child. I then inquired about the schools, pointing out that educational facilities were among the things immigrants like to know about when they are to be sent to a new country, and his answer was: "It is a pretty rough country. School is kept during the months when there is nothing to do in the fields. We let them go in planting time and cultivating time and picking time, and there are short terms in January and in July and August when there is no work to be done." "I admit," he said, "that is not ideal, but then there is a saying down there that ignorance and cotton naturally go together."

Finally I asked him, "And what is the effect of cotton picking throughout the season on the health and strength and growth of the children?" A thoughtful look came into his face (I honestly believe he had never thought about it before), and he said, "Of course it—it destroys their vitality." That he was himself an employer of child labor on a large scale, right down to babyhood, in a seasonal occupation, at piece wages, had never, so far as I could see, come home to him. He had apparently no compunctions of conscience. He was violating no law. He explained the whole matter and dismissed it from his mind by saying, mistakenly as it happens, "You see, there is no child labor law in Texas as there is in other states." It happens that there is a child labor law in Texas for mines, distilleries and factories, although none—and none in most of the states—except in the form of a compulsory education law—which applies to agricultural pursuits.

I have related this conversation, not as an evidence of child labor conditions in Texas—for anything that I know to the contrary, it may all be an unsubstantial fairy tale—but as an illustration, entirely outside the range of an immediate controversy, and involving—if it be true—that combination of Southern resources and Northern capital, which may be called typical, an illustration of the discredited view of the child against which, now in one form and now in another, this Committee and its allied forces, East and West, South and North, in state and in nation, are waging warfare.

You will notice that it is the bag and not the school term that is made to fit the child. The family income depends, not on the efficiency of the adult but on the number of children. The child is the center of the economic world and not the center of the educational and domestic world, and that means that the child is for exploitation and profit and not for nurture and protection. The six-year-old—think of it in terms of your own six-, eight-, ten-, twelve-year-old, if you have one—the six-year-old earns fifty cents a day and his vitality is destroyed. Cotton and ignorance are linked together—not naturally, as my friend said, but most unnaturally, and the industry which is otherwise the pride of the Southland and of America, is blighted not only in the mill but from the hour of its planting, joining the sweated industries of the northern cities and the glass works of the northern towns as an active cause of race degeneracy

and race suicide. Though it may be reprehensible for the race to perish for lack of births, it is a more shameful thing to destroy the vitality, to dwarf the minds, to refuse the natural and necessary protection of childhood to the children who are born into the world.

The other view—the new view of the child, if you like—has not been revealed by any single miraculous illumination. Would that some apostle on the way to Damascus could have a glorious vision of the divinity indwelling in the soul and body of the unspoiled child. But it is not so that social workers are guided to the formulation of their new ideals. Piecemeal and fragmentary is the process by which we put together the outlines of the society which we would create; doubtful and arduous the advance towards it. Social progress, as Meredith says, is spiral on a flat—like nothing so much as the path of the inebriate or the worm. The new view of anything, if it is a true and useful view, is likely to be but a synthesis, or a new interpretation, of old ideas; a convincing statement which we may all comprehend, of ideas long held here and there by a few people of extraordinary insight. It is not necessary, as Socrates thought, that philosophers become kings, or kings philosophers, but only that the speculations of the philosopher be put into language which kings may understand. We, therefore, we citizens and kings of America, not setting ourselves up as philosophers, in describing our new view of the child may justly appropriate some of the fragmentary older new views which have been gained from time to time.

Normal Birth

May I begin by urging the right of the conceived child in the mother's womb, to be born. When the Children's Bureau, for which this Committee is working, is established in Washington, it may well begin its labors by an investigation of sterility, abortions and still-births. If it be found, as our leading medical authority on this subject has estimated, that forty-five per cent of our unfruitful marriages are so, not because of deliberate refusal to bear children, but because of sterility resulting from venereal diseases; if it be found, as other specialists believe, that there is an intimate relation between the prevalence of such diseases among boys—the results of which are carried into later married life—and the employment

of boys in mills and factories and mines, then the connection of this painful subject and our child labor program will have been established. I refer to it here, however, not as bearing specifically on child labor legislation, but as a part of that broader conception of our obligation towards childhood, upon which this and many other movements depend.

The new view, the religious view, the social view, the physiological view, the rational view of the child from every standpoint, is that the right to birth itself must not be abridged. If disease interferes with it, then disease must be overcome. If deliberate crime interferes with it, then crime must be punished. If unscrupulous medical skill interferes with it, that medical practice must be brought more completely under professional ban and criminal prosecution. If ignorance and vicious indulgence interfere with it, then education at an early age by parents and teachers and physicians and others must take the place of our conspiracy of silence. If the employment of women in factories interferes with it, then that employment must be curtailed.

Physical Protection

The right to be well-born is followed, in the new view of the child, by the right to grow up. We are doing better than our forefathers in this respect. Two hundred years ago in London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, three-quarters of all the children that were born died before the completion of their fifth year. Decade after decade that percentage has been pushed down until now it is something like twenty-five instead of seventy-five per cent.

Even now, in 1900, in the registration area of the United States, the death rate for all children in their first year is 165 in the thousand. That means, if I understand it, that 16.5 per cent. of all children born in the cities and more populous states, die before they are a year old. Milk poisoning, ignorance of mothers as to how to feed and care for their children, inability to nurse them, either for physical or for economic reasons, lack of necessary facilities for surgical and medical treatment, and lack of knowledge in the rank and file of the medical profession concerning the diagnosis and treatment of infantile disorders, are among the causes for this high mortality among infants. The greatest ad-

vances of medical science have been in this field, and the substantial reduction in the death rate of many communities is due to the saving of the lives of babies more than to reduction at any later age. It is the new view, the social view, that this process should be carried farther, and that those who are born shall be permitted not only to survive, but to become physically healthy and strong. The Children's Bureau, which is to be for investigation and publicity only, not for administration, will deal with that subject also.

The Federal Government should study continuously the problems of illegitimacy, infant mortality, illiteracy, feeble-mindedness, orphanage, child dependence, and child labor—just as it studies, and properly studies, the soils, the forests, the fisheries, and the crops.

Happiness

The third element in the new view of the child is that he has a right to be happy, even in school. Pestalozzi and Froebel helped us to think that out. Jane Addams, at one of the earlier annual meetings of this Committee, gave expression to the idea that one day we shall be ashamed of our present arguments for the prohibition of child labor, that it is physically destructive and educationally disastrous—although these seem like reasonably adequate arguments to start with—and shall recognize that the joyousness of childhood, the glorious fullness of enjoyment for which children are by nature adapted, and by their Creator intended, is in itself a worthy end of legislation and social concern. Bronson Alcott, of whom it is said that his greatest contribution to American literature was his daughter, says that a happy childhood is the prelude to a ripe manhood. It is a far cry from a childhood in mine or factory to that happy childhood, and to put it down as an elementary right may seem sentimental. If so, I name instead a protected childhood as absolutely essential, and if you grant me a naturally protected, a sheltered childhood, I will take the risk of happiness. For it is no artificial, hothouse-forced development of something which you and I might call happiness that we seek, but the spontaneous activity and growth of a protected, unexploited childhood. If you ask me what is the period of such protection, I cannot tell. Certainly ten years is not the limit, nor twelve, nor fourteen. I once asked a very wise and sensible man who had been

making some suggestions about my own boy's education, how long he expected me to support the boy. I had begun to be a little disturbed by the time it would take to carry out his program. "Well," he said, "if you can't provide for him until he is thirty-five, you are not fit to have a son." I am not in favor of raising the age limit to thirty-five, but neither do I favor leaving the years from ten to twelve, or to eighteen or to twenty entirely without protection.

Useful Education

It is a part of this new view, fourth, that the child has a right to become a useful member of society. This implies industrial—or stating it more broadly—vocational education. It supports the suggestion made by Mr. Noyes, in one of the publications of the National Child Labor Committee, that the school day might well be made longer, with greater variety in curriculum; and that the work which we deny, and rightly deny, in the factory for profit, may be demanded in the school for an hour or two or more daily for education and training. The disingenuous arguments as to the educational value of specialized long-continued factory labor may be tested by the willingness of those who make them to introduce genuinely educational employment with the element of profit eliminated, into the school curriculum, where alone it belongs. Industrial efficiency is diminished and destroyed and not increased by child labor.

The Right to Progress

There is one final element in the new view of the child, the right to inherit the past more and more fully, the right to begin farther and farther along, the right not only to begin where the parent began—even that is denied when through destroying the strength and retarding the education of children, race degeneracy sets in—the right which we now assert is the right not only to be protected against degeneracy, but the right to progress. It is the new view of the child, the American view, that the child is worthy of the parent's sacrifice; that he must mount upon our shoulders and climb higher; that not only in accumulated possessions, but also in mastery over the physical universe, in spiritual attainment, in the power to serve his fellowmen and to glorify God, he shall rise above his father's level. It is not a new idea.

Hector, on the plains of Troy, had a notion that men might say of Astyanax that he was a far better man than his father, and perhaps they did, or would have done so had Hector lived to protect and rear him. In a given instance the plan may fail, but the plan itself is significant for the father and for the child. The American child is not unknown in text books and essays and fiction. He has been pictured as smart, precocious, disrespectful, and offensive. The child of the rich and preoccupied American, and of the vain and indulgent American, has sharpened the pencil of the caricaturist of every land. Kipling, in "Captains Courageous," plucked such a child from the ocean and put him at the work on a fishing dory on the banks of Newfoundland, which his regeneration required. The neglected and spoiled child of foolish indulgence, and the neglected and spoiled child of avaricious poverty, tend to develop similar or equally lamentable traits. In neither case is there recognition of these fundamental elements in what we have called the new view of the child—normal birth, physical protection, joyous infancy, useful education and an ever fuller inheritance of the accumulated riches of civilization.

SOCIAL COST OF ACCIDENT, IGNORANCE AND EXHAUSTION

By Prof. Charles R. Henderson,
University of Chicago.

Very properly the National Child Labor Committee is compelling the public to fix attention on the child laborer, especially the little wage-earner in the mine, mill and factory. In doing this we are led to consider all the factors which affect the child for weal or woe, not only in the work-place but elsewhere. You have asked me to discuss the "Social Cost of Accident, Ignorance and Exhaustion," no doubt with reference to causes and also with a view to prevention, protection, insurance and instruction.

A representative of the new Southwest urges upon the people of Texas the establishment of "a cotton mill in the cotton field." A vigorous, far-seeing, progressive community will not be content to ship cheap raw material to older countries and bring it back as finished goods at high prices for transportation, labor and profits. But cotton mills in the cotton fields mean an industrial revolution in the South similar in all essential respects to that through which England, Germany and some of our own older states have passed on their way from rural to urban industries. In this revolution the child will suffer unless protected by law.

Antecedents of the Exploited Child

The studies of Niceforo, Warner, Oppenheim, and by boards of education in Switzerland, England, America and elsewhere, have made one point clear—the delinquent, dependent, neglected child is physically and intellectually inferior, on the average, to the normal school child. This established fact compels us to go back to influences which affect the development of the very poor child before birth and in the years of infancy.

In great measure we are dealing with the results of generations of social neglect. Our ancestors have permitted multitudes of human

beings to grow up under the blinding and perverting influence of a *laissez faire* philosophy, a theory made to excuse, justify and glorify neglect. The more conscientious and logical they were who held this theory the worse the results. Consequently we are called upon to deal with the offspring of the ignorant, underpaid, neglected, often vicious and depraved, alcoholic, narcotized, neurotic ancestors.

The conditions of motherhood and infancy affect the child's chances in life. Whether born crippled or normal, the children of the poor, ignorant and neglected, begin again a round of deficient nutrition and care. The factory girl, without instruction and training, becomes a mother under serious difficulties, and if her infants survive, they enter the struggle for existence too early and with a heavy handicap. The mother's history is written in deeper, darker lines in the baby. During her childhood, deprived of play and school, she failed to accumulate physiological reserves; during her early adolescence she was ill-fed, poorly nourished, ill-taught, overworked. Before the birth of her infant, while it was directly and completely dependent on her for life and growth, she had not good food, and her energies were depleted by toil. During the months before weaning time she was unfit for her function as nurse. These conditions explain the frightful rate of infant mortality among the very poor and ignorant, and the prevalence of disease and death in later years, with the diminished industrial efficiency of adult wage earners.

The fated circle begins again with each new generation of weaklings. You will not find all this in the statistics of "factory labor," but must seek the information elsewhere. The condition of the mother *enceinte* affects her offspring. Insufficient nutrition and excessive toil have for their results either the death of the embryo, or premature birth, and in any case constitutional feebleness of the child results, later showing itself in diminished resistance to disease or in defect in some organ.

In Belgium, in the period 1890-1900, 44.9 in 1,000 births were dead born. Among working people, in industrial centers, the ratio is high. In 1900 in Prussia, out of 1,275,712 births, 39,993 were dead born; in Switzerland in a total of 97,695 births, 3,379 were dead born; in France, of 827,297 births, 39,246 were dead born. Unless sickness insurance is organized to provide support during the latter part of pregnancy and after confinement of the mother, it

is impossible to enforce a law forbidding very poor women at their time of need to work for wages.[1]

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, in his brief before the Supreme Court of the United States, in October, 1907, in the case Curt Muller *vs.* State of Oregon, has collected a mass of expert testimony from physicians, factory inspectors and statisticians, proving beyond reasonable ground for doubt that too prolonged terms of work are destructive of the health of working women and ruinous to their offspring; and in February, 1908, the Supreme Court of the United States heeded this testimony and it became a part of the legal opinion of our highest judicial body. It is now good law that the courts are bound to recognize the verdict of science and not merely abide by outworn precedents; that judges can look forward to consequences, as well as backward to prejudices based on ignorance.[2]

The surroundings of the child in school from the sixth to the fourteenth year are frequently part cause of the subsequent exhaustion of energy and industrial efficiency. The school ought to be, can be, and sometimes is, a training in physical development. A child properly educated, in the widest and best sense of that term, does grow in stature, weight and force. Every school should be under the control of medical authorities who should have the children weighed, measured and tested by modern instruments of precision so as to make physical development certain. As a matter of

[1]The French association for the legal protection of workpeople adopted this resolution January 29, 1903:

"That in establishments supervised by factory inspectors the work of pregnant women, or those recently confined, should be regulated as follows: 1. Women should not be permitted to work during the two months preceding confinement. 2. Pregnant women should be permitted to ask for cessation of work before their approaching confinement without breaking the work contract. 3. Administrative regulations should determine the different kinds of work which are to be interdicted or permitted only on certain conditons to pregnant women or those recently confined.

"The strict application of a law relating to obligatory rest of pregnant women or those recently confined can be made only when the loss of wages is compensated by relief at the charge of the state or local funds, in the absence of a general system of industrial insurance guaranteeing legal indemnities."

[2]The language and doctrine of the decision of the Supreme Court (Curt Muller *vs.* State of Oregon) apply with all their weight to the laws protecting children. Justice Brown wrote: "That woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence is obvious. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her. Even when they are not, by abundant testimony of the medical fraternity, continuance for a long time on her feet at work, repeating this from day to day, tends to injurious effects upon the body, and as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of women becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race."

fact, these scientific tests are rarely applied, and merely intellectual instruction is given, with waning power, to children whose health is undermined in the process.

In our crowded cities the playgrounds for outdoor exercise and play are inadequate, the play itself is left to the untaught children, the school house is often closely packed, the desks and mode of instruction deform the children, the air is vitiated, the light is uncertain, the physical care of the pupils not supervised by competent medical and dental examiners.

There is relatively too great reliance on books and writing; too little directed and educational play and creative activity. Competitive examinations, frequent and severe, are conducted in such fashion as to over-excite the nervous system and induce sleeplessness, fear and exhaustion. Frequently the children come to school inadequately fed and clothed; they have slept ill in the noisy, stifling tenement dwelling; they may have worked long outside the school hours and so are weary and sleepy. School life goads them to self-destruction.

Situation of the Child and Youth as a Wage-Earner

We still lack a thorough statistical study, with intensive local investigations, but, thanks to the federal government and the Charities and Commons organization, we shall soon have a more reliable presentation of the facts. We already have ample medical information for a fair judgment of the effects of premature factory labor, and the experience of older countries has value for us.

It is certain that exhaustion by fatigue is to be charged with a very great number of occupational accidents. Children and youth placed in positions which require maturity of muscles, nerves and judgment are necessarily heedless and awkward. They endanger themselves and others, especially when they are weary. The records of accidents by age and by hour of the day are significant in this connection.[8]

Premature child labor in mine, mill and factory increases exposure to some occupational diseases. Certain poisons, dust, vapors and germs may be resisted or tolerated by vigorous men which are fatal to young persons and women. This fact has led to the prohibition of work by such persons under the conditions cited.

[8]Querton, L'Augmentation du Rendement, etc., p. 172.

Social Value of the Laborer

In order to realize the cost of unsuitable occupation and neglect of education, we must try to set before us, at least approximately, the value to society of a healthy, intelligent, open-minded, well-fed worker. It is not possible to do this with great accuracy, for the range of individual variation is very great. Rochard[4] estimates the economic value of a man at 1,097 fr.—about $219 per year. Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman[5] defines the "economic gain to society" to be "the value of the product over and above wages, cost of supervision, cost of material and miscellaneous expenses, necessarily incurred to carry on any particular process of manufacture or industry." He thinks that the average annual economic gain may be safely placed at about $300, so that if the child of fifteen has a prospect of working up to the age of sixty-five his "future economic value" for the active and productive fifty years will be $15,000. At twenty-five this future economic value will be $13,695.

But is this economic, material estimate, calculated in price, the only form of social value we can consider? We need not be sentimentalists to insist that the military and political position of our nation among the nations of the earth is due largely to the number of vigorous, alert and intelligent children brought to productive and reproductive years. How can we adequately set before the country the priceless value of a host of young citizens? Can we utterly ignore the social value of this multitude of hopeful youth as held in the hearts of the mothers and fathers of our land? Because we cannot weigh and measure the love of parents, brothers and sisters, shall we therefore not count affection among the most precious possessions of our people? When a man has to choose between money and the life of his child he welcomes bankruptcy and is glad to make the offering.

Social Cost of Accident and Exhaustion

Let us approach the social cost of accident, exhaustion and ignorance,—the causes of morbidity and mortality,—upon the basis of this estimate of the value of a life at fifteen years. What is it we fling away when we take a normal child, rob it of intelligence, stunt its faculties, kill it prematurely, cut off twenty or more years

[4]La Valeur économique de la vie humaine, Paris, 1885.
[5]Annals of American Academy, May, 1906.

of its existence, or make it a weakling, a dependent on society for years of its existence in almshouse or prison?

The economic loss is measured by the economic social value of a healthy human being once brought to maturity and educated for usefulness. Death destroys the accumulated energy of youth at a stroke; but feebleness and degeneration burden the community with partial or entire support of a weakling or cripple. Therefore to find out the total social cost we must calculate as nearly as possible the loss by death, the loss by sickness and incapacity, the positive burden of support of paupers and the enormous waste and cost of caring for criminals driven to revolt.[6] The community has already expended much on a child before it is ten years of age,—in government protection, playgrounds, schools, sanitation. Is it economic to permit private and individual greed to use up this investment?[7]

Consider the social loss of exploited childhood from the standpoint of capitalists as a permanent class, men who have investments for life and seek sources of income for their descendants to

[6]Many attempts have been made by sanitarians to exhibit and illustrate these social wastes. In Germany in 1879-1888 an average of 26.90 in 1,000 died; in 1889-1898, only 23.97; a gain of 2.93 per 1,000; 150,000 less deaths in a population of 52,000,000. The economic gain was 130,000,000 marks ($32,600,000) annually. But for every death there are thirty-four cases of sickness, twenty days' lost time each; 150,000 multiplied by 34 by 20 equals 1,000,000,000 days of sickness, or 300,000,000 marks ($75,000,000) saved.

Dr. John Simon estimates for England the economic gain by reduction of mortality at 125,000 persons a year; $800 per head; $60,000,000 saved in days of sickness; in all $160,000,000. In 1897 in Germany about eight and a half millions of persons were insured against sickness, one-sixth of all population. To each insured, 0.36 cases of illness; 6.18 days lost; 14.45 marks ($3.61) cost; total cost, 120,000,000 marks ($30,000,000); and also as much loss of wages. If sickness could be reduced by hygienic and sanitary improvement by 5 per cent then 6,000,000 marks ($1,500,000) would be saved plus wages of same amount; in all $3,000,000.

[7]The productivity of capital depends on several factors: 1. On scientific mastery of the laws of natural forces and materials; 2. On the invention and use of the most perfect tools, machines and technical processes; 3. On the perfection of the organization and discipline of the factory, mill or shop; 4. On the selection of the raw material and arrangement of the plan of manufacture; 5. On the health, energy, intelligence and hearty co-operation of the workmen. It is this last factor which with us is too much neglected, the most important of all.

The supply of energy in the worker is furnished by the oxydation of the elements of food. This supply varies with the sufficiency of quantity, the "balance of rations," the digestibility and appetizing quality of food, and the condition of the worker.

The girls need to learn to select and prepare food: hence should be given time and instruction for this social task. To deprive them of this training by keeping them in factory or mercantile establishment is to lower the vitality of the coming generation.

the tenth generation. Can this class, however selfish, afford to permit the exhaustion of labor force in one generation? Human labor supply must be continuous, simply as a tool of capital. Granted that an individual employer may make money by the exhaustion of children, the group of employers cannot.

It is said that certain Indians will sell their hammocks cheap in the morning! In Canada a group of aborigines were furnished seed potatoes and shown how to plant them; but as soon as the teacher was gone these thriftless and improvident people dug up the precious seed and feasted on it. Winter seemed so far away. That is the tillage of fools which takes plant food out of the soil in a short series of crops and leaves it barren. The individualistic owners of the forests of Michigan and Wisconsin made themselves rich by destroying the primeval woods and they bequeathed to their heirs a desert covered with the black trunks left by conflagration. Shall this mad policy be extended to the present crop of human workers?

Let every chivalrous man listen one moment to another argument from cost, the cost to mothers! They have a right to be heard here. Their sufferings, anxieties and sacrifices are vastly greater than those of all the soldiers who ever were praised for valor and voluntary sufferings; for all mothers are martyrs. When we become more fully civilized we shall by insurance—as in Germany—provide for their support during the time when the birth and nursing of their infants require all their vitality. We may go further even than that, and recognize the service of child-bearing as a true economic service to the nation.

Connection between Accident, Exhaustion and Ignorance

Ignorance obscures the vision of social value and of cost in parents. It is inconceivable that poor parents would crucify their young children if they only knew the effect of premature labor. When the late Dr. Budin taught ignorant mothers in Paris that the death of their infants was not necessary if they followed his directions they all heeded him; not one case of neglect,—yet poverty pressed them sorely.

The arguments published by mill owners show that they are ignorant—I will not say always wilfully ignorant—of the effects of factory and mill labor in England, Germany, France and all other

older industrial nations. There is no other explanation of their neglect short of a charge of sheer brutality. Ignorance of the general public, of legislators, of teachers, of lawyers, of governors, of preachers and editors, is in great measure the cause of our criminal negligence as a people. Ignorance permits accidents which might be prevented. Ignorance permits occupational diseases and exhaustion which might be diminished. Ignorance permits neglect of insurance which would provide funds for care, lead to precautions and diminish the burden of starvation conditions. The total situation calls for a prolonged campaign of education of teachers, pastors, workmen, and employers in the findings of the science of hygiene and sanitation and of general social protection.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHILD

By A. J. McKelway,
Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

It was written of old, "A little child shall lead them." It was written deeply into the very constitution of our nature that the child should lead. Science and revelation unite to proclaim this truth.

Henry Drummond pointed out the fact that there were two struggles for life, the struggle for the individual life, which is concerned with nutrition, and the struggle for the life of others, which is concerned with reproduction, with the life of the species. He showed that at the beginnings of life on this planet, "that early world was for millions and millions of years, a bleak and loveless world, without mothers and without children," and that Nature to develop mothers had to make the young helpless. He bade us "contrast the free, swimming embryo of the Medusa, dashing out into the heroic life the moment it is born, with the helpless kitten or the sightless pup." Then rising to the consideration of the human, he declared: "No greater day ever dawned for evolution than that on which the first human child was born. The child teaches the mother. The next effort of evolution is to lengthen out these school days and give affection time to grow." In the same way, through the leadership of the child, came the development of fatherhood, and the family, the clan, the state.

Wallace declares that in this prolongation of the period of human infancy, "Nature has begun to follow a new path, and make psychical changes instead of physical." And our own John Fiske made an important contribution to evolutionary science by establishing the fact that the prolongation of the period of childhood is the very measure of the progress of the race. "If it were not for our period of infancy we should not be progressive." He says, "The knitting together of permanent relations between mother and infant, and the approximation toward steady relations on the part of the male parent, came to bring about the family, the clan . . . the germ of altruism, of morality." He states this truth more fully

thus: "From of old ye have heard the monition, 'Except ye be as babes, ye cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven;' the latest science now shows us . . . that unless we had been as babes, the ethical phenomena which give all its significance to the phrase, the Kingdom of Heaven would have been non-existent for us. Without the circumstance of infancy, we might have become formidable among animals, through sheer force of sharp-wittedness. But except for that circumstance we should never have comprehended the meaning of such phrases as 'self-sacrifice,' or 'devotion.' The phenomena of social life would have been omitted from the history of the world, and with them the phenomena of ethics and religion." The history of civilization bears out the teachings of evolution on this point. We need not look beyond the fact of the child marriages that prevail in India to understand why the teeming millions of one of the oldest human civilizations are held in check, are controlled and developed, by the handful of English soldiers and rulers; or why the native tropical races, with their forced ripening of manhood and womanhood, have never developed civilizations of their own. It is a law of nature, "To be a man too soon is to be a small man," no matter what the physical development may be. The virile races are those that have believed in the tutelage of childhood and the development of manhood, the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman. And in the decaying days of the Roman Empire the historian Tacitus, attributes two pre-eminent virtues to the Germanic races that have since over-run the world, the honor that they paid to womanhood and the prolongation of the period of adolescence. He tells us that it was considered a shame to marry before mature manhood had been reached.

Child Labor Thwarts Progress

Consider briefly how the modern system of child labor cuts across this line of development and progress. Here, through the long eons, the family as the social unit has been developing, motherhood, fatherhood, brotherhood, patriotism, philanthropy. Child labor begins its destructive tendency by disintegrating the family and ends with the destruction of the state. The period of childhood is shortened instead of prolonged. The dependence of the child, so necessary to the development of the social virtues, becomes the independence of the bread-winner. The task of the

father, the husband, the house-bond, is relegated in part or in whole, to the child, who is made the food-provider. The child, from being a blessed incumbrance, tending to home-building, becomes an industrial asset, to be exploited for gain. The child-laborer, coming into competition with the father in the labor market, brings down wages to the child standard, and the mother is forced into the ranks of the bread-winners, because the system of adult male labor has degenerated, by reason of the low wage scale, to the basis of family labor.

The system perpetuates itself. By reason of the illiteracy which is invariably the result of the child labor system, the victim of that system is handicapped in competition with his more fortunate fellows and is relegated to the ranks of the unskilled. He must continue to receive the low wages of the unskilled laborer. Having become independent of parental nurture, he becomes free from parental restraint. We even recognize in some of our defective child labor laws the fact of the dependency of the parent upon the child for bread. Having to fulfil the duties of manhood he feels a right to its privileges, and early marriages become the rule instead of the exception. So the poverty, and the immaturity are handed down in intensified form to the next generation. Illiteracy and resulting poverty are perpetuated and racial degeneracy is the inevitable result. In this new country of ours, with its shifting population, it has not been possible as yet to study such a development in its ultimate results. In the textile industry, which has always been cursed with child labor, and therefore with low wages and long hours, foreign immigration has changed the character of the population. The native New England and Pennsylvania stock, with American habits of thrift and industry, went from the textile mills into the skilled trades as soon as industries were sufficiently diversified to accommodate them. Their places were taken by the English, the Irish and the Scotch, who went through the same process of changing to better conditions as to wages and hours, and their places have been taken by the French Canadians, the Portuguese and the Greeks. In the South, where there has thus far been little help from immigration, and the native American stock is almost universally employed, the industry itself is only measured, in its real development, by a single generation. I have given elsewhere an account of the process of steady degeneracy that has gone on for a hundred

years in England, in its great milling centers, until there has come about "an alarming impairment of the national physique," to quote the words of an English physician.

Paisley

But we have a striking case of this moral and physical degeneration in a Scotch city, the history of which is quoted by Dr. Thomas Chalmers, from a contemporary writer: "From about 1770 to 1800 the manufactures of silk gauzes and fine lawns flourished in Paisley; as also, during a portion of the period alluded to, that of figured-loom and hand-tambourined muslin. These branches afforded to all classes excellent wages, and being articles of fancy, room was afforded for a display of taste as well as enterprise and intelligence, for which the Paisley weavers were justly conspicuous. Sobriety and frugality being their general character, good wages enabled almost every weaver to possess himself of a small capital, which, joined with their general intelligence and industry, enabled and induced many to spend days and even weeks together, in plodding over a new design, assisted frequently by their obliging neighbors, knowing that the first half-dozen weavers who succeeded in some new style of work were sure to be recompensed ten-fold.

"Nearly one-half of Paisley at that period was built by weavers, from savings off their ordinary wages. Every house had its garden, and every weaver, being his own master, could work it when he pleased. Many were excellent florists; many possessed a tolerable library, and *all* were politicians. So that, about the period of the French Revolution, Mr. Pitt expressed more fear of the unrestricted political discussions of the Paisley weavers than of ten thousand armed men. Had Paisley been then, what Paisley is now, crowded with half-informed Radicals and infidels, his fears would have been justified. But truth and honest dealing could fear nothing from a community constituted as Paisley was; and never perhaps in the history of the world, was there a more convincing proof of the folly of being afraid of a universal and thorough education, especially when impregnated with the religion of the Bible, than in the state of Paisley at that period."

Significantly enough, the period of Paisley decadence began with the manufacture of a sham, an incentive to human vanity

and pretence. Our author continues: "The introduction of imitation Indian shawls about the year 1800 required that each weaver should employ one, two or three boys, called draw-boys. Eleven or twelve was the usual age, previous to this period, for sending boys to the loom" (it should be recalled here that this was work at home under the eye of the parent and did not conflict with school attendance, as we shall see). "But as boys of any age above five were equal to the work of drawing, those of ten were first employed; then, as the demand increased, those of nine, eight, seven and six, and even five.

"Girls, too, were by and bye introduced into the same employment, and at equally tender years. Many a struggle the honest and intelligent weaver must have had between his duty to his children and his immediate interests. The idea of his children growing up without schooling must have cost him many a pang, but the idea of losing two shillings sixpence, or three shillings a week, and paying school expenses beside, proved too great a bribe even for parental affection, and, as might have been expected, mammon in the end prevailed, and the practice gradually grew too common and familiar to excite more than a passing regret. Children grew up without either the education or the training which the youth of the country derive from the schoolmaster; and every year since 1805 has sent forth its hundreds of untamed boys and girls, now become the parents of a still ruder, more undisciplined and ignorant offspring. Nor was this all. So great was the demand for draw-boys that ever and anon the town-crier went through the streets, offering not simply two shillings sixpence, three shillings, or three shillings sixpence, for the labor of the boys and girls, but bed, board and washing, and a penny to themselves on Saturday night. This was a reward on disobedience to parents; family insubordination with all its train of evils followed. The son, instead of standing in awe of his father, began to think himself a man when he was only a brawling, impudent boy. On the first or second quarrel with his father he felt he might abandon the parental roof for the less irksome employment of the stranger. The first principle of all subordination was thus early broken up."

Our author goes on to show at some length how the market became overstocked with goods and with cheap labor, with the result of a permanent reduction of adult wages, and closes his description

thus: "Thus was the employment of their children, from five to ten, by the weavers of Paisley, at first an apparent advantage, but in the end a curse, demonstrating that, whatever may appear to be the interest of the parents this year or next year, it is permanently the interest of them and their offspring to refuse every advantage in their temporal concerns, which tends to defraud youth of the first of parental blessings, education; and that Providence has bound in indissoluble alliance, the virtue, the intelligence and the temporal well-being of society. In 1818-19, during the Radical period, there were found full three thousand Paisley-born, and Paisley-bred, who could not read; and the decline of intelligence has been followed by the decline of that temperance, prudence and economy which are the cardinal virtues of the working classes, by which alone they can elevate their condition or preserve themselves from sinking into the most abject poverty."

In the South

It has been my custom at these annual meetings to give a brief description of child labor conditions in the field assigned to me, the Southern States. Every such description, founded on actual observation at first hand, has been disputed and the facts denied. That however denotes progress. The ground of apology for the child labor system has shifted in these last few years from a defense of the system as a good thing for the child and for society to a denial of the abuses of the system and the claim that the evil is fast disappearing. This year our Committee has been conducting some investigations in three of the Southern States, Virginia, Mississippi and South Carolina, the first with an age limit of twelve years, and fourteen for night work; the second with a minimum age limit of twelve, but with the provision that the child of dependent parents may be employed at any age, and the third without any child labor law now in operation. From all three states comes the indubitable evidence of the violations of law, where the law exists, of appalling illiteracy, apparently increasing, and of the wholesale employment of children, with the resulting evils of family disintegration, of early marriages, of wife desertion, of degenerate children.

It is not too much to say that the process that has been described as going on in Paisley is now being repeated with alarming rapidity

in eight hundred communities of the South. Let me quote from a humane and intelligent manufacturer, whom we hoped to have with us at this meeting. Speaking of the early marriages that prevail, Mr. Garnett Andrews, who is in favor of a fourteen-year age limit now, and an eight-hour day as soon as competition can settle upon that basis, said in advocacy of legislation preventing the marriage of children: "I have this thing come before my observation frequently. Right near my mill is a cavalry post; these soldiers, irresponsible young chaps, come around there courting the girls; go to paying attention and keeping company with some girl and marry her. We have had girls married out of our mill at fourteen years of age. And not long ago there was a girl came over there for work with a child in her arms. She was but fifteen and had on short skirts. That was a crime against civilization, against God and against everything else. There are a whole lot of collateral facts that chime in with this labor question. I do not know of one more important than this, even the age-limit they are setting here."

Legislative Progress

I am glad, however, to be able to report progress along the line of child labor legislation since the date of our last annual meeting. North Carolina has raised the age limit from twelve to thirteen and to fourteen for night work, the manufacturers refusing to grant the demand for any reduction of the hours from the frightful sixty-six a week, though some mills have voluntarily reduced them. A local option compulsory education law was also enacted in North Carolina, the manufacturers agreeing, though I have not learned that any of the mill communities have yet been persuaded to put themselves under the operation of this wise and humane law.

Arkansas has raised the age limit from twelve to fourteen, and that for the children of dependent parents from ten to twelve. In South Carolina the manufacturers had agreed to reduce the hours from sixty-six to sixty a week, gradually, reaching the culmination in 1909. The South Carolina Legislature thought that the sixty-hour week would be a good thing in 1908. But both sessions adjourned without having passed the compulsory education law which the manufacturers have favored so long. I could wish that

they were as influential sometimes in passing good legislation as they have been in preventing it. Florida passed its first child labor law, largely as the result of the combination of the labor unions with the women's clubs of that state. It recognizes the twelve-year age limit for all occupations except agriculture and domestic service, and there would have been a fourteen-year age limit except for the opposition of one oyster-packer, who was in the habit of importing Bohemian children from Baltimore for his business. He has since become a convert to the law, for the sake of his rivals in other Southern states. Tennessee enacted a sixty-hour week, and the Tennessee manufacturers, at the Southern Textile conference, recommended advanced child labor legislation to the other Southern states. Unhappily, one of these manufacturers, who has a mill in Mississippi, appeared before the legislature in opposition to the very provisions for which he had voted at the textile conference, including the fourteen-year age limit. Mississippi has passed its first child labor law, leaving now no Southern state without legal protection for the working children, and only one state in the Union, Nevada, without a child labor law. The manufacturers' lobby, however, succeeded in reducing the requirements for factory inspection to a minimum and in cutting down the age-limit from fourteen to twelve.

Alabama has moved forward a long distance, cutting off the ten-year old children who were allowed to work under the old law, making the age limit sixteen for night work, with an eight-hour night for children under eighteen, with a sixty-hour week for day work for children under fourteen. Children under sixteen are required to attend school three months of each year as the condition of their being employed in any manufacturing establishment. The inspector of jails and almshouses was made factory inspector also, and though he has not sufficient assistance to be effective in this work, the beginning of factory inspection has been made. The new Georgia law has just gone into full effect at the beginning of this year, and in Virginia the age limit has been progressively raised to thirteen in 1909 and to fourteen in 1910, while a new provision has been added to the law making the employment of children under the legal age *prima facie* evidence of guilt on the part of both parent and employer. If my advices from Oklahoma are correct, the youngest of the Southern states is preparing to

pass a law which will be in some respects a model for the rest of the Union. Thus far have we advanced in fifteen months in the way of legislation.[1]

Special Claim of Childhood

The consideration of the child, as a child, of his rights as a child, of his claims as a child to protection and care, is fast demolishing the old *laissez faire* philosophy which has so long been the curse of Southern political thinking. Of course the first step was the establishment of the common school system. I can remember when it was considered almost as much a disgrace, in Virginia, for a parent to send his child to the common school as to have to go to the poor-house himself. How far we have come in a few years, to the confessed duty of the state to provide an education for every child, white or black, and to the next immediate step, of compelling the ignorant and indifferent parent, to send his children to school!

The next demonstration of the leadership of the child was the agitation of the child labor question. It all dates in the South, from the beginning of this new, young, century of ours. Now there is not a single Southern state without a child labor law. Nor will it be long before legislation shall be perfected here, for compulsory education everywhere, with factory inspection provided. The employer of children will soon find himself so much an outcast, in public opinion, that he will fear to face a jury of his fellow-countrymen to answer for that crime. A few healthy prosecutions will have a marvelous effect in the South.

The distinction between childhood and manhood has begun to be recognized in other ways. The servant of this Committee, in the disbursement of a special fund entrusted to him, has been able to accomplish something along the line of distinguishing between the adult criminal and the child criminal, for instance. One of the encouraging facts connected with social remedial legislation is that a small amount of time and effort and means in awakening public interest in a good cause, may do a vast deal of good, especially if there be no commercial interest directly opposed, as in the child labor reform. In North Carolina a reformatory for wayward youth has been established, following the example set in

[1]Child Labor bill passed both House, but was vetoed by Governor Haskell, June 10, 1908.

Georgia the year before. Tennessee followed the example set in Georgia and North Carolina. Alabama, through the efforts of a member of this committee, Judge N. B. Feagin, passed a juvenile court law of a rather advanced type. Senator McDowell, who introduced and passed the child labor law in Mississippi introduced a juvenile court law, which will pass eventually. Two bills for the establishment of juvenile courts are on the docket of the Georgia Legislature. A reformatory for negro child criminals is being earnestly advocated in Georgia. These are but straws showing the direction in which the wind is blowing. May those who sow this wind be able to reap a whirlwind which shall sweep away the last vestige of the old penal systems that are a disgrace to our civilization; that shall wipe away the "blistering shams of the convict lease system." For the question will recur, if the child criminal may be reformed, why may not the adult criminal be turned into the way of righteousness instead of being hardened in his iniquity? The child is leading the way.

Protection of Womanhood

Another epochal step has recently been taken in the way of the protection of womanhood. The South Carolina Legislature, in fixing the sixty-hour week for children, added the same provision for women. The South Carolina manufacturers were advised by their lawyers that this latter provision was unconstitutional—there are always lawyers to be found who can discover the unconstitutionality of righteous legislation, though it does seem a little peculiar to have South Carolina lawyers invoking the aid of the Fourteenth amendment which they at other times hold to have been unconstitutionally adopted. To the credit of the South Carolina manufacturers be it said that they preferred not to contest that law. To the discredit of an Oregon laundryman be it said that he chose to contest a similar provision for that state. To the everlasting fame of a Boston lawyer, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, the decision of the Supreme Court of Oregon was so presented before the Supreme Court of the United States, in a masterly brief, that the Supreme Court by unanimous vote, instead of the usual five to four, sustained the contention that the woman needs protection at the hands of the law. Said Justice Brewer in delivering this momentous decision: "The limitations which this statute places upon her (woman's) contractual powers;

upon her right to agree with her employer as to the time she shall labor, are not imposed solely for her benefit, but also largely for the benefit of all. Many words cannot make this plainer. The two sexes differ, in structure of body, in the functions to be performed by each, in the amount of physical strength, in the capacity for long-continued labor, particularly when done standing, the influence of vigorous health upon the future of the race, the self-reliance which enables one to assert full rights, and in the capacity to maintain the struggle for subsistence. This difference justifies a difference in legislation, and upholds that which is designed to compensate for some of the burdens imposed upon her." Mark you, it was the child that led the way to this far-reaching decision, and the legislation which secured it. Similar legislation for protecting the vast army of women now in industry will follow. If I may be permitted to express a personal hope, some national organization similar to this should at once be formed, if this Committee is unable to undertake the work, to secure this protection for the women of our land. John Ruskin once said: "It is a shame for a nation to make its young girls weary." America is already thinking in its heart that it is a shame for a nation to make its women weary.

We say to those, who for whatever reason, of prejudice or of supposed self-interest, have been fighting the cause of child labor reform, "ye know not what ye do." I can fancy the complacence with which the employers of child labor all over the land heard of the birth of this Committee, less than four years ago. With not enough money for their expenses to buy one cotton mill or to secure a controlling interest in one coal mine, what can they accomplish? And yet thirty-four state legislatures have changed their laws or enacted new ones for the protection of the children who toil. Because the child stands out in the might of his innocence, the appeal of his very helplessness is irresistible. We would make overtures to those who have resisted the effort to save the children of this nation, not to invite further the condemnation of mankind.

In the most crowded mart of London there stood one day a wee bit lassie upon the curb-stone waiting for the thousand vehicles and teams to pass by that she might cross the street. A tall policeman took her by the hand, and with his other hand uplifted, stopped the traffic of London for the sake of the child. There may have been some grumbling and even curses on the part of teamsters,

but to have driven recklessly over that lassie's body would have been to create a riot. Better the policeman than the mob. And so we say, gentlemen, even if traffic, our sacred traffic, be stopped for a brief moment while we conduct the child along its appointed way, let the traffic stop. For the child means more to humanity than any material gain. Self-interest cannot withstand the universal interest in the welfare of the child.

CHILD LABOR IN NEW ENGLAND

By E. W. Lord,
Secretary for New England, National Child Labor Committee.

The gospel of work has long been preached in New England. The New England Yankee has ever been noted for industry and thrift, and just as thrift has sometimes lapsed into parsimony, so the insistence upon universal industry may have been pushed to such an extreme that it has ceased in some cases to be a virtue. That children should not be without some employment has ever been a cardinal principle of our faith. We recognize that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," although we have also accepted somewhat grudgingly, it is true, that "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." The feeling that even the child ought to be usefully employed found early expression in the home life of our people, and in every well-ordered household even the youngest members of the family circle had their regular tasks to perform. As in the average home there was much that children could do, Satan's opportunities to furnish diversion were reduced to the minimum.

In no part of our country did the dawn of our modern industrial system introduce greater changes than in New England. There as elsewhere, the old occupations of the home have gradually been reduced in number, and, in the towns and cities at least, have now to a great extent disappeared; but the feeling of the people towards the inherent danger of idleness has remained much the same and has resulted in the prompt transfer of the workers from the home to the factory. The child who had little to do at home must naturally turn to whatever line of work might be possible outside, and the factories, which were rapidly established throughout all New England, offered in most cases the first available opportunity for what seemed to be profitable employment.

The history of the introduction of child labor and the struggle for its restriction are no different in New England than elsewhere. Maine and Massachusetts early adopted restrictive legislation, forbidding the employment of children under twelve years of age,

and fixing the day's work at twelve hours. As early as 1856 the day's work for those under sixteen was reduced to ten hours. As the need became evident other laws were enacted and other states followed suit. The present laws of the New England States in relation to child labor are fairly satisfactory. Their main features are shown concisely in the table given on page 33.

In all the New England States the minimum age for the regular employment of children in factories or mercantile establishments is fixed at fourteen years, although in New Hampshire and Vermont children of twelve may be employed when the public schools are not in session. This provision until recently prevailed in Maine and was the cause of much difficulty in the enforcement of the law, children frequently going to work during the vacation of the public schools and neglecting to return when the schools opened.

Four of the six New England States demand a more or less definite educational qualification before any minor under sixteen may begin work. Connecticut sets the lowest standard of these four states, requiring only that an illiterate under sixteen must attend evening school, but the state school authorities may establish other requirements. New Hampshire accepts such attendance, but there are few evening schools in the state, and as a rule papers are issued only after an examination in which the child proves his ability to read and write English. Massachusetts fixes the educational qualification at the completion of at least three years' work in the common schools, while Vermont stands alone in New England, and, I believe, in the United States, in the requirement that any minor under sixteen years of age must have completed the entire nine years of the grammar school course before being allowed to go to work, except when schools are not in session. A bill is now before the Rhode Island legislature, with excellent prospect of being enacted into law, in which the ability to read and write English is fixed as the minimum educational qualification in that state. This will leave Maine as the only one of the New England States demanding no qualification of this nature.

Proof of Age

In New Hampshire an affidavit of the parent or guardian is accepted in lieu of any documentary proof of age, while in Vermont, the New England conscience or the acuteness of the school officials

CHILD LABOR LAWS OF NEW ENGLAND

	Maine.	New Hampshire.	Vermont.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island	Connecticut.
Minimum Age	14	12–14	12–16	14–16	14	14–16
Educational Qualifications	None	Must read and write English	Full 9 Years' Course	3 Years' Course	None	Must attend Evening School
Proof of Age	Certificate	Affidavit	None	Certificate	Certificate	Certificate
Hours of Employment	10—60	9¾—58	Not after 8 P. M.	10—58 Between 6 A. M. and 10 P. M.	10—58 Between 6 A.M. and 8 P. M.	10—60
Enforcing Officers	Factory Inspector	State and Local School Officials	Local School Officials	State Police; Factory Inspectors; School Officials	Factory Inspectors	State and Local School Officials
Penalties	Fines (0)*	Fines (2)*	Fines (0)*	Fines (30+)*	Fines (0)*	Fines (61)*
Exemptions	Canneries	None	None	None	None	None
Physical Qualifications	None	None	None	None	None	None

*Number of prosecutions.

is to be relied upon, since the law requires neither affidavit nor documentary evidence. All the other New England States demand either a birth certificate, passport or similar evidence to establish the age.

As to the number of hours of employment, the provisions are more nearly uniform. In Maine and Connecticut ten hours daily and sixty hours weekly are authorized; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island ten hours daily and fifty-eight hours weekly; in New Hampshire nine and two-thirds hours daily and fifty-eight hours weekly. Vermont makes no provision in regard to the hours of work, except that a minor may not be employed after eight in the evening. We may assume that night work after twelve, midnight, would be legal in this case, since there is no morning opening hour fixed.

Maine, Massachusetts and Rhode Island have factory inspectors, whose duty it is to enforce the law. Massachusetts, in addition to employing a large corps of factory inspectors, gives equal authority in the enforcement of all parts of the child labor laws to truant officers in all the towns and cities. In Connecticut and New Hampshire the child labor laws are regarded more in the nature of complements to the school laws, and the enforcement is left to the state or local school officials. The wisdom of this provision is open to question.

Maine's Exemption

Maine is the only one of the New England States which makes any exemption of particular importance in the operation of the child labor laws; there the laws do not apply to any industry dealing with the packing or preserving of perishable goods, that is, particularly, to the canning industries. That this exemption is vicious in its results, is evident to those who are familiar with conditions in that state. Especially in the work of sardine canning on the eastern coast is the labor of children utilized. Sardines which, before they are presented to the public under that familiar name, are commonly known as herring, are caught in great quantities in the weirs, from which they are taken to the factories, where they are immediately cut and cleaned for packing. This work is very simple and can readily be done by children, a very large number of whom are employed in the cutting rooms of all the sardine factories. In many cases one passing through a sardine factory

finds children so small that they cannot possibly reach the fish on the low cutting tables without standing on a stool or box.

While an educational qualification is so generally recognized, none of the New England states has as yet required any physical qualification for the child worker. In the legislatures of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, however, bills fixing a qualification of this nature are now under consideration, and we have good reason to expect them both to become law.

Regulation of Street Trades

Special attempts are made to regulate the employment of children in the street trades in Boston and Portland. In Boston boys under fourteen are allowed to sell papers, black boots, or engage in any street trade, only after obtaining a license from the school committee, and this license can be obtained only by those boys who are regularly in attendance at school and whose conduct is good. This law provides that the boys shall attend school regularly, shall sell only on the sidewalk and not on cars, shall not remain on the street after eight in the evening, and shall always wear the badge provided by the school committee and carry their licenses with them. The main features of the law are fairly well enforced and the beneficial results can not be doubted. In other states little attempt has been made to regulate street trades. I have seen a boy of eleven years selling papers on the street at five o'clock in the morning, and in this particular case I was told by the boy that the only reason that he sold papers instead of working in a local factory was because he could make more money selling papers. When I expressed doubt as to his being able to get work in the factory he assured me that he knew many boys not so old as he who were so employed, and that he had the word of the foreman that he could at any time go to work.

Enforcement

However good a law may be, its practical value lies in its strict enforcement. It is probable that the child labor laws of the different states of New England are enforced as well as are similar laws in other places, but the investigator finds violations everywhere. Even in Massachusetts, where for the enforcement of the law there

is so large a body of officials, and where the sentiment is undoubtedly favorable, violations are not unknown. The report of the factory inspectors for the past year shows a considerable number of prosecutions for violation of the child labor laws, and reports of individual investigators show that, in some cases at least, violations occur and are not detected by the authorities. The greater number of these are probably in the smaller shops and factories, which are less frequently inspected and in which children may be employed for some time without the attention of the authorities being called to it. There is an honest difference of opinion among our people as to whether child labor laws can best be enforced by school officials or by special factory inspectors. Perhaps the Massachusetts provision, which gives these people co-ordinate power, is the best solution of this question. Certainly the school officials must have the right to enforce the laws for compulsory education, which exist in every New England state. To complete their powers, they need only the additional authority to enter business establishments where they may suspect truants to be employed.

In each of the New England States there are ample penalties for violation of the law, but the reports of the enforcing officials show very different results as to the application of these penalties. In Maine no manufacturer has been prosecuted for violation, and this is urged by some as evidence that the law is not well enforced. The factory inspector, however, maintains that he has found the manufacturers anxious to co-operate with him, and that as they have not wilfully violated the law, he has felt it unjust to prosecute them when violations have been detected. In New Hampshire in the past four years there have been only two prosecutions for violations of the child labor laws, and one of these related to the right of the officials to visit establishments. In Connecticut there were last year sixty-one prosecutions of employers or delinquent parents.

Vocational Schools

It is universally recognized that child labor laws and the school laws must supplement each other, but the feeling is manifested that to require a child to attend school until he is fourteen years of age, devoting his whole time to a distinctly literary curriculum, lacks some element of justice, particularly when it is conceded that a very large proportion of school children, and almost all those chil-

dren whose attendance at school depends upon the compulsory laws, are preparing for a life of manual labor. We have tried to believe that, even for the one who must toil with his hands, a literary education, as complete as circumstances might allow, is still of great value. We have felt the need of intelligent workingmen, and perhaps unconsciously we have allowed ourselves to accept the theory that the intellectual intelligence enthroned in our public schools must be the particular kind of intelligence which the workingman should have. Of late this theory has been sharply questioned, and the exponents of industrial education have brought forward the claim that intellectual training, however good it may be, is not enough to meet present day conditions. Nowhere has the demand for industrial or vocational education been more insistent than in New England, and nowhere in our country has a greater effort been made to meet this demand. The action of the State of Massachusetts, in providing for the establishment of vocational schools throughout the state has led the way for similar action in the other states. It is probable that within a few years in all the New England States special provision for vocational education at public expense will be given.

Child Labor Wasteful

Without doubt, the prevailing sentiment in New England, even in the manufacturing districts, is favorable to the restriction of child labor, at least to the extent of the existing laws. The manufacturers in general agree that the older operatives are more profitable, even if not always so tractable. One manufacturer, who has been in business for more than twenty-five years, said to me, "When we could employ children of ten or twelve years of age we had much less trouble with the discipline of the children than we have now with our young help." But the same man indicated his preference for adult workers, saying that the average child even of fourteen, represents a financial loss to his employer until he can be satisfactorily trained and "made to take some thought."

Another manufacturer, in a state where children of twelve may be employed during the school vacation, assured me that he found their employment wholly unprofitable, even when they were paid only about one-half the wages paid to older operatives. Many of the mills which formerly produced some of the coarser grades

of textile goods, have in the past few years turned their attention to the manufacture of goods of higher grade, introducing more complicated machinery and calling for more intelligent and more careful operation. This change has in itself resulted in displacing children and giving employment to operatives of an age at which they may reasonably be expected to "take some thought." One such company, now operating entirely without the employment of children, has been able to declare a dividend of sixty per cent. for the past year. There seems little doubt that cheap workmen may turn out a cheap product, but for the higher grade of goods, with a correspondingly higher profit, the manufacturer cannot afford to employ low grade help. The president of a large textile corporation in Rhode Island recently said to me in this connection: "We would not employ children under fourteen years of age even if the law permitted it. Young children constitute a positive loss to the employer."

The Foreigner

That there is need of strict enforcement of laws for compulsory education and for restriction of child labor comes to the average New England citizen who traces his ancestry back to revolutionary or colonial days as something of a shock. That the American spirit of family pride, which could of old be largely relied upon to secure every advantage for the rising generation, must now be bolstered up with legal props, is cause for wonder, and is sometimes doubted. But one must not forget how the changing times have changed the make-up of the population of the Northern States. When we realize that in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut more than one-third of the population is of foreign birth and much more than one-half is of foreign parentage, we can readily see why long-cherished American ideals are in danger. When a further study of statistics shows that a vast majority of the new-comers to those states are from the shores of southern Europe, where neither Saxon nor Teutonic influences have prevailed, the need for constant activity on the part of the educational and legal forces of the state is even more manifest. Like the sleeping Turks of the time of Marcos Bozzaris, the dwellers in the leading industrial towns of New England are awakened by the cry "The Greeks! they come, they come!" The percentage of increase of population of foreign parent-

age in Massachusetts alone during the ten years from 1896 to 1905 shows a gain of 1,242 per cent. from Greece as against a gain of only 22 per cent. from all Saxon and Teutonic lands.

To safeguard the citizenship of the future and to protect those ideals which are so precious to every American, we must continue our work of child labor reform, ever keeping shoulder to shoulder with the educational leaders who are to provide for every child the practical training to which he has an inalienable right.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION, THE SOLUTION OF CHILD LABOR PROBLEM[1]

By Lewis W. Parker,
Greenville, S. C.

A recent number of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is devoted to the child labor problem, and upon reference to that publication it appears that credit is claimed for various states and communities as being the first to agitate this issue in the South. Among others claiming priority, the Rev. C. B. Wilmer, of Georgia, claims priority for his state, and dates the agitation on the subject from the year 1901. If this is the earliest date yet established I must say that you are all in the wrong and that South Carolina in this, as in many other questions, can claim priority. Not only can the claim be made in behalf of South Carolina, but by the cotton manufacturers of South Carolina. For many years prior to 1901 the probable evil results of the employment of children in manufacturing had been fully recognized by many of the cotton-mill owners of the state, and steps had been taken, certainly to lessen if not altogether to remedy the evil. In the publication above mentioned, Mrs. Florence Kelley, the secretary of the National Consumers' League, a devoted and zealous advocate of legislation in the interest, as she conceives, not only of children but of American citizenship, refers to the hypocritical attitude of those who would contend that in this country we have not the evil and therefore need do nothing about it.

I certainly have no desire to be characterized as a hypocrite and therefore should not for one moment contend that the evil of the employment of child labor does not exist, nor would I for a moment contend that nothing need be done about it. On the contrary, any intelligent observer must recognize the evil, though opinions may differ as to the remedy and as to the character of the relief to be applied. I believe it is Thomas Carlyle who defines orthodoxy as "my-doxy" and heterodoxy as "your-doxy." Certain

[1]See Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting for a discussion of this article.

it is that an unfortunate proportion of those who would characterize themselves as reformers are uncharitable in their conception of the attitude of those who may doubt the wisdom of the policies advocated. They are too apt to brush away any suggestions from others —who may be, from practical experience, more familiar with conditions than they—with the statement that those others are hypocritical or are false in their statement of facts, or are misleading in their deductions from the facts.

A noted reformer stated that no reform could be accomplished without exaggerations. Certainly the advocates of child labor legislation have accepted this statement, for statements made, both as to the extent and as to the effects of child labor, have been much exaggerated. Still, with all this, as I have stated, the evil does exist and there is no advantage or necessity in attempting to minimize it if a correction can be found.

My own connection with cotton manufacturing in the South does not date farther back than twelve years, but within that time I have seen a tremendous development of the industry. In my own State of South Carolina I have seen the number of spindles in operation more than trebled in that period, and consequently the number of employees increased in a somewhat less proportion. With such unparalleled development of the industry I have seen therefore its expansion beyond the immediate possibilities of a proper labor supply, and consequently I have been aware of the temptation to the manufacturer to employ those not suitable for work in the industry.

It would be folly to contend that the proportion of children in the Southern cotton mills was no greater than in the cotton mills of other portions of the Union. The causes of this, however, are evident, and almost equally evident is the method of relief. If he be a public benefactor who makes two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before, equally is he a benefactor who gives occupation to those who were previously without occupation. The close of the war found a large population in the South without means of support. The struggles of the reconstruction period but increased the unfortunate condition of a large portion of our Southern population, who were engaged, to a very large extent, in agricultural pursuits. The steady decline in the price of cotton, the chief product of our labor, served to still further increase our misfortunes. When

there was opened up to our population a means of livelihood through the development of the cotton mill industry, there was naturally an influx to cotton mill communities by those who had been unsuccessful in agricultural and other pursuits.

When it is remembered that in a period of twenty-five years the cotton mill industry has developed forty-fold, and that consequently the proportion of population engaged in the industry has so greatly increased, it is not strange that there should have been in connection with it certain evils. More strange is it that there was on the part of a large proportion of the Southern manufacturers a recognition at a very early date of those evils and an earnest effort, almost from the start, to correct and anticipate such evils. We find that almost from the commencement of the development in the early eighties the necessity of the education of the employees and of their moral and intellectual uplift was recognized. Indeed, as far back as the early fifties, the pioneer of the cotton mill industry in South Carolina, the president of the Graniteville Manufacturing Company, in making his report to the stockholders as to the causes which had made the industry up to that time unsuccessful in South Carolina, mentioned as one of them "the lack of proper effort for the religious and moral training of the operatives." A recognition of this necessity therefore existed when the industry took on a new life in the early eighties, and it is no exaggeration to say that in the development of the first mills during that period, as in the construction of practically each mill thereafter, the schoolhouse and the church were an accompaniment to the construction of the mill building itself.

The poverty of the people of the South has made it impossible for them to do all that has been done in other communities towards the education of the population. Certain it is, however, that in no section of the Union has there been a truer recognition of the necessity of this education. When at times reference is made to the large proportion of illiteracy existing among us, we are too apt to express our feeling of humiliation, rather than to express that other more proper sentiment, namely, pride at the way in which we have overcome the difficulties attendant upon the procuring of an education in the South, and pride in the record which we are making in that respect.

The census of 1900 is in many respects a glorious exhibit

for us. It displayed to the people of the world for the first time a wonderful record of industrial development; but above all it displayed an equally wonderful record of educational development and growth. From that census it appears that the Southern States in the proportion of their population attendant upon schools, exceed any other section of this Union. Taking as an illustration my own State of South Carolina, that census showed that notwithstanding the large negro population in the State, of whom a lesser proportion than of the whites attend school, 21.61 per cent of the whole population were in school. The same census shows that in the great State of New York only 16.59 per cent attended; in the great western State of Michigan only 20.39 per cent, and that in that state of the East which continually prides itself upon its educational facilities, Massachusetts, only 16.12 per cent of the population were in attendance on schools. This is a record to be proud of, but when a closer inspection is made of the census, and an examination of the percentage of white population in school is made, the disproportion existing between the Southern States and other sections of the Union is even greater. It is shown that of the white population, South Carolina, which is merely typical of other states of the South, had 25.23 per cent in schools; whereas New York had but 16.40 per cent, Massachusetts but 16.07 per cent and Michigan but 19.64 per cent of their native white population. I do not feel, therefore, that there is any apology to be made in behalf of the South for its educational development. On the contrary, there is every reason to be proud of our record and of the proof of educational zeal and ambition. When reference is made to the large proportion of illiterates, reply can justly be made that to a large extent these were illiterate consequent upon misfortunes of war, and that even though the percentage remained large in later periods, this was still the result of a poverty consequent upon the same cause.

When, therefore, I would advocate compulsory education as a solution of the child labor question, I do so not from any view that the South is not doing a great deal in the cause of education, but rather from the view that there is much yet to be done, and that we cannot afford to rest upon our laurels.

If we are to accept the words of those who now pride themselves upon the supposed results of child labor agitation, this agita-

tion commenced about the year 1900 or 1901; yet even as far back as that date we find the manufacturers of South Carolina uniting in a request to the legislature of their state for the enactment of three laws: the first, compulsory education itself, as being the solution of the child labor question; secondly, a birth registration law, as a necessary incident to any child labor legislation or any educational law; and third, for a marriage license law, as being necessary for the morality of the state, and particularly for maintaining morality in concentrated industries, such as cotton manufacturing. This agitation on the part of the manufacturers has been repeated each year. In its early years, there were found in the legislature few supporters of compulsory education, a large majority of our solons believing that it was not practicable, owing to the large proportion of negro population. The movement, however, has continued to grow in strength and within the last year or two the bill has missed its passage in the legislature by a very narrow margin. I have every reason to believe that within a comparatively short time compulsory education will be a settled fact in South Carolina. In January, 1907, the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of South Carolina, through its constituted committee, made its last appeal to the legislature upon this question and I cannot do better than insert here the words of that appeal:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina:

The undersigned committee was appointed by a meeting of the South Carolina cotton manufacturers, held at Greenville, S. C., June 5, 1906, and representing nine-tenths of the state's spindleage, with instructions to memorialize your honorable body, urging the passage of: 1st, A compulsory education law; 2d, a marriage license law; 3d, a law requiring the registration of births.

The three subjects will be briefly mentioned in reverse order to the above, the intent of this memorial being, not to enumerate the many arguments which might be advanced in favor of the passage of the laws suggested, but chiefly to put the state's textile manufacturers squarely and definitely on record as favoring and earnestly urging such legislation.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS.

The lack of proper registration of births and consequently inability to ascertain positively the ages of children is a constant hindrance to those who are conscientiously trying to adhere rigidly to the requirements of the recently enacted law governing the employment of children of tender years—commonly known as the "Child Labor Law."

In fact, this absence of age record is in many instances a shield to grasping and unscrupulous parents against whose greed the law is intended to operate. It is true it will take time for such a record to be of value, but this merely emphasizes the importance of delaying no longer in commencing the accumulation of data, the need for which is already at hand.

MARRIAGE LICENSE.

Our state's position as to divorce is well known. Is it not by reason thereof specially incumbent upon us to throw greater safeguards around the entering into marriage relation? The early age at which matrimonial alliances are formed is in itself startling. The frequency with which the relation is severed—merely by mutual consent or by desertion—is a deplorable menace to morals. We voice the sentiments, not only of the mill managers, but we believe of the more thoughtful and discerning mill operatives, when we urge the requiring of marriage licenses, and greater watchfulness as to the violations of existing laws.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

Irrevocably opposed, as we are, to "class legislation"—to the passage of any laws designed either to exercise restraint over, or to accord special privileges to, any one class of our citizens alone—we have been unable to give our support to measures heretofore introduced intended to require school attendance on the part of cotton mill operatives only.

We admit that the facilities now provided by many of the mill corporations, the longer term of the mill schools, etc., would emphasize the necessity of compelling the youth of the cotton mill villages to accept the educational advantages thus afforded.

Still it must be remembered that it is from the farms that the bulk of our textile workers have come, and are still coming, and that the statistics as to lack of education—so easily obtained from the compact mill village—still reflect to a greater extent the educational deficiencies of the remote rural districts.

There are already more negro children than whites enrolled in the public schools of our State—the percentage of attendance of the negro children is larger. How much longer will the senseless fear of forcing (?) the negroes into school deter us from requiring an acceptance by the children of illiterate whites of the opportunities of learning which our public school system offers? Through what other method can a more intelligent citizenship be obtained?

We earnestly urge, hence, the passage of a law compelling school attendance by all children between the ages of eight and twelve, regardless of residence or avocation of parents.

JOHN A. LAW, *Chairman,*
R. E. LIGON,
J. ADGER SMYTH, JR.,
E. F. VERDERY,
GEO. W. SUMMER,
J. M. GEER.

I know that opinions differ as to the question of precedence between child labor legislation and compulsory education. Some there be who argue that compulsory education is a sequence rather than a precedent to an effectual child labor law. Others—and among those I must class myself—claim that the compulsory education law is in itself the best child labor law. The child labor law is merely negative in its effect. It may keep the child out of occupation, but it does not keep him out of mischief, nor does it do anything to improve him so as to make him in the future a useful citizen. The compulsory education law, on the other hand, necessarily keeps a child out of any gainful occupation which may be harmful to it. In addition to that, it affords affirmative relief in that it does tend towards the improvement of the child and does tend to make that child prepared to be a future useful and gainful citizen. In states where the child labor law has been tried without compulsory education, this has, I think, become recognized.

I cannot state this conclusion in better words than it is stated by a report of the chairman of the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee, appearing in the publication heretofore referred to, where he says: "The Wisconsin Committee is convinced that child labor laws standing by themselves, even if they are modern in form, are too often a mockery of legislation, unless they are accompanied by satisfactory and thoroughly enforced education and truancy laws, and by ungraded rooms and schools, playgrounds and park facilities, and in general, unless when employment is denied children, school and vacation facilities are given and school attendance compelled. Our committee therefore seeks not only a child labor law which shall be practical and modern in the best sense, but also to keep fully abreast (and if possible in advance of that standard) the educational system of the state, including compulsory education laws and satisfactory truancy laws." . . . Undesirable as are certain forms of child labor, and much as we may look forward to a time when no child under sixteen shall be employed at gainful occupations; the fact remains that under existing conditions, a great number of such children must work for wages, and that it is far worse to have children in idleness on the streets, studying in the school of crime, because of the lack of proper educational laws and of vacation schools and playgrounds and other proper and normal ways to use the abounding strength of childhood.

But there is another view in which I feel the compulsory education law is to be preferred to the child labor law, while accomplishing the same object, namely, keeping the child out of the factory. Unquestionably the child cannot be both at school and at work, and therefore a compulsory education law is, as stated, a child labor law. The census of 1900, to which reference has been made, showed that whereas in 1870, the number of wage-earners employed in cotton mills formed only 13 per cent of the number employed in all industries in the State of South Carolina; by 1905 this per cent had been increased to 62, and a recent compilation by Mr. Watson, the State Labor Commissioner, would indicate that in 1907 the per cent had increased to probably 80 per cent of all employees in all industries. A child labor bill, therefore, in South Carolina is too evidently a bill aimed at cotton manufacturers and at cotton mill employees. Inasmuch as these employees constitute a great majority of the wage-earners in industrial enterprises, such a bill is necessarily aimed at them. No such objection can be made to a compulsory education law. Such a law is aimed at all classes and affects all classes alike. An illiterate and ignorant cotton mill employee is not the citizen he should be, neither is an illiterate and ignorant employee in any other vocation such a citizen as is to be desired. The compulsory education law would tend to raise the standard of all classes of citizens and would bear equally upon all. Why, therefore, should laws be passed applicable, if not in terms, at least in effect, upon practically one class only, when an equal and more advantageous law can be passed applicable to the class which may be sought to be reached, and equally applicable to all other classes?

There is an unfortunate tendency in the public mind to classify cotton mill employees as a class to themselves. Constituting as they do in certain sections of the South, the largest proportion of industrial wage-earners, any law which would tend to exaggerate this present tendency of classification is unfortunate. The compulsory education law, on the contrary, does not exaggerate that tendency, but decreases it, as it brings all classes of citizens under the same terms. This has been the position of the cotton manufacturers of our State, in antagonizing legislation of any character which sought to apply particularly to cotton mill employees. They have felt that any laws which were applicable to the citizens in other vocations should be made applicable to those in cotton mills,

but that it was neither just nor expedient to single out the cotton mill industry as the industry to be reached by special legislation. For this reason we have opposed in all earnestness laws seeking to apply educational qualifications to children employed in the mills unless such educational qualifications were applied equally to children of those in other vocations. But while taking that position, we have urged with equal earnestness, as shown in the appeal to the legislature heretofore referred to, the passage of a compulsory education law applicable to all classes.

The cotton mill manager fully realizes the benefit coming to him from an intelligent and educated laborer. He wishes such a class of labor. It has been his misfortune that a large proportion of the labor heretofore coming to him has not been of that class, and has therefore served to limit the scope of his manufacturing. The tendency in the South is to get away from that class of goods which in the early ages of cotton manufacturing it was thought could alone be made in the South. The tendency is towards a higher and better class of work, and the cotton mill manager appreciates that to be successful in this class of work and to compete with the best New England and English mills, he must have the best class of labor. He therefore welcomes any law, including the compulsory education law, which tends to elevate and improve the condition of his labor.

I do not think the earnestness with which the Southern cotton manufacturers, as a rule, have striven to prevent the setting apart of the cotton mill employees as a class has been fully appreciated, or that the unfortunate results of such a classification are fully known. It is to make the cotton mill employees of the same type as other classes of citizens; it is to raise their ideals and to improve their characters that we find a continuous progress on the part of the cotton mill manager, in the establishment of schools and churches, or young men's and young women's Christian associations, in the institution of libraries, lyceums, gymnasiums, swimming pools, parks and playgrounds. It is for the same causes that our employees are constantly encouraged to take an active part in the duties of citizenship, to serve on juries, to attend political conventions and to assert themselves in juries and conventions. In other words, it is our earnest desire to bring these employees up to the full measure of the average citizenship of our state, and anything

which tends toward that end meets, as a rule, the hearty approbation of the mill manager. Likewise, anything which tends to degrade or lower the employees as a class meets our earnest and persistent disapprobation.

Contrasting, therefore, the child labor law with the compulsory education law, we feel that one tends to degrade, the other does not, in contrast with other classes of citizens.

As I stated previously, there is at all times a tendency on the part of those seeking social reforms to exaggerate the extent of the evils at which they reach. I, on my part, would not minimize the extent of child labor or the evil of it. At the same time, I cannot think that advantage comes of a reform caused by exaggerated and misleading statements.

I trust that the officers of your Committee, under whose auspices this meeting is held and at whose invitation I speak here to-day, will not misunderstand or be offended, when I refer to some of their own statements as both misleading and exaggerated. In an article published by one of them in a prominent magazine it was stated: "Sixty thousand little children are to-day toiling in Southern cotton mills; little girls eight years old work through a twelve-hour night." In the Outlook this advertisement was printed by your committee: "The National Child Labor Committee wants your help to rescue two million children from premature labor." Dr. McKelway, the Assistant Secretary of your Committee, in an article appearing in THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to which I have heretofore referred, reaffirms these statements in an article entitled: "South Awakening Against Child Labor," and among other things, says: "An estimate of mine, published a year ago, that there were sixty thousand children under fourteen in Southern cotton mills has been widely challenged and abusively denied." Again he says: "Fortunately for the cause of the children, a recent study of the population tables of 1900 gives the result of that house-to-house canvass as to the number of children ten to fifteen years of age, engaged in particular industries. From that we learn (Census Bulletin 69) that three out of ten operatives in Southern cotton mills are from ten to fifteen years of age. This takes no account of quite a considerable number of children under ten so employed. . . . But three out of ten is thirty per cent, or 62,700 children from ten to fifteen years of age, to which two or

three thousand should be added for children under ten years of age. It is my opinion that the percentage of children employed has increased since 1900 on account of the shortage of the labor supply and demand for more operatives caused by the increase of fifty-five per cent in the number of spindles since 1900. The figure given, 60,000 children under fourteen, is thus seen to be a conservative estimate."

It is true that the census of 1900 does show that there are in the United States 1,750,178 children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in gainful pursuits, but of this number 1,061,971 are reported in the same census as being engaged in agricultural pursuits, as to which the statistician, in the same report, says: "There is one broad class of occupations in which child labor is not open to most of the objections ordinarily urged against it. These are the occupations connected with agriculture. The work of the child on the farm is usually not injurious to health or morals, and does not necessarily interfere with the opportunities for schooling. . . . . It is important at the outset to call attention to the fact that about two-thirds of the total number of child bread-winners were employed on the farm and that most of these children were members of farmers' families." Of the remaining number of child laborers ten to fifteen years of age, not engaged on the farms, to wit: 688,207, he says: "But of the total number of children, in the aggregate 310,826, or nearly one-half, were fifteen years of age, and 501,849, or over two-thirds, were either fourteen or fifteen years of age, at which age the evils of child labor are not generally regarded as serious, except in a few occupations of exceptionally injurious or objectionable character, the range of which is somewhat larger for female children than for male.

"If the children fourteen to fifteen years of age are eliminated from the above total, there remain 186,358 children representing the number of child bread-winners ten to thirteen years of age, exclusive of those employed on the farm. The child labor problem, so far as it may be measured by the twelfth census statistics, is for the most part restricted to this group, which includes practically all of the child bread-winners enumerated by the census, whose employment is itself regarded as a grave evil and a menace to the welfare of the Union, and on the other hand probably includes comparatively few whose employment is entirely unobjectionable."

It will be noted, therefore, that your committee's two million children to be rescued from premature labor has dwindled down to 186,000, and the measure of the exaggeration is ten to one, which I do not think is to be regarded as a gross exaggeration in comparison with most reformers. The figures are equally wide of the mark when consideration is given to the conditions in the Southern cotton mills. The original statement appears to have been that "Sixty thousand *little* children are to-day toiling in Southern cotton mills." I take it that "little" children, as ordinarily construed, would certainly mean children less than twelve or thirteen years of age. In fact, I think it would be generally understood as children less than twelve years of age. I hardly think that even a child of thirteen is to be characterized as a "little child." Be that as it may, the census of 1900, as reported in Bulletin No. 69 of the Department of Commerce and Labor, shows that there were in the whole United States 18,926 children from ten to thirteen years of age engaged in cotton mills. Of this number, 16,105 are shown to be in the Southern states, which is a lamentable and regrettable fact. There is, however, a great disproportion between that 16,000 and the 60,000 claimed.

"But," says your assistant secretary, Dr. McKelway, "this census is of the year 1900, whereas there has been a great increase since that date." His opinion on this subject is not borne out by any statistics to which he can refer. In the census of manufactures given in Table 31 of Bulletin 69, heretofore referred to, it is shown that the total number of children at work in Southern cotton mills, ten to fifteen years of age, increased in the Southern states from 1900 to 1905 only 2,828, and whereas the number of adult males increased in that period 36 per cent, it appears by the report that the increase of children ten to fifteen years of age was only 11 per cent, indicating a great decrease in the proportion of children employed.

But, as I have previously shown, the census statistics show that over two-thirds of the children reported in the census of 1900, ten to fifteen years of age, as being in gainful employment, were over thirteen years of age. Assuming therefore that this proportion holds good in 1905, it would appear that of the children in Southern cotton mills, ten to fifteen years of age, to wit: 28,135, two-thirds, or approximately 19,000, were over thirteen years of age, leaving therefore only approximately 9,000 as being ten to thirteen years

of age. Thus do the 62,000 estimated by Dr. McKelway dwindle to 9,000, or an exaggeration of seven to one. "But," says Dr. McKelway, "the census figures of 1905 were obtained from the manufacturers, and therefore cannot be relied upon, but fortunately for the cause of the children, a recent study of the population tables of 1900 gives the result of that house-to-house canvass as to the number of children ten to fifteen years of age engaged in particular industries."

That house-to-house canvass to which Dr. McKelway refers shows, as stated in Table 30 of Bulletin 69, that whereas the manufacturers in 1900 reported 25,307 children ten to fifteen years of age as working in Southern cotton mills, a house-to-house canvass showed 27,661 or a variation of approximately 10 per cent. The statistician of the census is more charitable than Dr. McKelway, and does not think that this variation of 10 per cent necessarily arises from deception on the part of the manufacturers, but he explains the difference by stating: "The variations between the census of the population and that of manufacturers in the figures presented for 1900 are, of course, due to differences in the character of the two censuses. The figures for manufacturers give the average number of wage earners of all ages employed during the year about the cotton mills in any capacity. The figures for population, on the other hand, give the total number of persons in the population at least ten years of age who reported themselves as having occupation peculiar to the cotton mills, although those persons at the time of the census may not have been actually engaged in the pursuit of such occupation."

Is not this a natural explanation? The manufacturer reports his employees at a certain date, or during an average period. The census enumerator reports those who call themselves employees, but who may not have been at work at the actual time that the manufacturer made his report. Be that as it may, the Census Bulletin No. 69, in Table 31, makes an estimate of the children at work in the cotton mills of the South, based upon "the assumption that an enumeration of the population would disclose an increase or decrease proportionally to that shown by a comparison with the reports of manufacturers for 1900 and 1905." And the census therefore estimates that the number of children ten to fifteen years of age in Southern cotton mills in 1905 was 31,085, or an increase

over the number reported by the manufacturers themselves of slightly less than 3,000, or in other words a variation of approximately ten per cent.

Assuming therefore the correctness of this estimate of the census, and assuming the usual proportion over and under thirteen years of age to exist, it would appear that two-thirds of the 31,085, or approximately 20,000, were fourteen years of age and over, and only approximately 10,000 were thirteen years of age or under. Our friend again has exaggerated six to one.

That the tendency is toward the employment of more mature persons and not toward the employment of children in at least the South Carolina mills, is fully shown in a summary of the South Carolina textile industry appearing in the "Handbook of South Carolina," issued by Hon. E. J. Watson, State Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration. On page 467 of this handbook it is shown that in 1900, the total number of employees of the South Carolina mills was 30,201, of which 8,110 were children under sixteen; in 1905 the total number of employees was 37,271, of which 8,835 were children under sixteen; and in 1907, the total number of employees was 54,887, of which 8,121 were under sixteen years of age. In other words, although from 1900 to 1907, inclusive, the number of employees in South Carolina mills had almost doubled, there was an increase of but eleven children in the number under sixteen years of age. This certainly should be a gratifying exhibit, and should be a proof of the desire and willingness of the manufacturers of South Carolina to conform to the law of the state with reference to the employment of children, and furthermore, a proof of the fact that they appreciate that the employment of children is not to their advantage, either economically or otherwise.

The census of 1905 further discloses that in South Carolina in 1900, the population of mill villages was 61,468, the number of employees 30,201, or a percentage of employees to population of 49 per cent. The census of 1905 shows a population in mill villages of 86,966, with employees of 37,271, or a percentage of employees to population of 42.8 per cent. Do not these figures show therefore a perceptible decrease of employees in occupation, and a deduction that the cause of this is the less necessity on the part of the male head of the family to seek the assistance of his children and wife in the efforts for support? An estimate of the population of mill

villages in 1907, with the number of employees, still further shows this tendency and reduces the percentage of employees to population to 40 per cent, illustrating and proving the same tendency.

As is well known, the cotton manufacturing industry in South Carolina, as indeed in nearly all the Southern states, is concentrated in what is known as the Piedmont region. The number of spindles in the cotton mills of South Carolina in 1907 was 3,688,761, as against approximately 9,000,000 in the whole South; or, in other words, 40 per cent of the spindleage of the South is in South Carolina. Of the South Carolina spindleage, 1,962,064, or more than one-half of the whole, are to be found in the counties of Greenville, Spartanburg, Union and Anderson, adjacent counties, and all in what is known as the Piedmont section of the state. If, as contended by Dr. McKelway, there has been a large increase in the employment of children, then certainly the school statistics of these four counties should prove such a fact. Whereas, these school statistics, with the compilation of which the cotton manufacturers had nothing to do, distinctly prove otherwise. These school statistics are prepared by the state superintendent of education, and cover the whole state, and have no reference whatever to manufacturing conditions.

The report of the state superintendent of education for the scholastic year 1906, shows that the population of South Carolina in that year, based upon an estimate of increase over the census of 1900, was 1,467,391, and that the school enrollment for the state during that year was 314,399, or the percentage heretofore referred to of 21.61 per cent of the population enrolled in schools. The estimated white population of the state in 1906 was 601,631; the enrollment of white school children for the year was 24 per cent of the white population. The enrollment in the negro schools was 19.6 per cent of the negro population. In Spartanburg County the estimated population was 71,662 and the school enrollment was 25.2 per cent of the population. In Greenville County the estimated population was 58,998 and the school enrollment was 23.9 per cent. In Anderson County the estimated population was 62,940 and the school enrollment was 23.5 per cent. In Union County the population was 25,579 and the school enrollment was 30.3 per cent of the population. In other words, the average of the four cotton mill counties was 25.7 per cent, as against the average for the whole state of

21.6 per cent. It shows, therefore, at least that a full percentage of children, as contrasted with the remainder of the State, are attending schools in the four counties referred to. When it is remembered that those living in the cotton mill villages of South Carolina number approximately one-fifth of the entire white population of the state and nearly one-third of the entire population, white and colored, of the four counties referred to, it would seem that if there were the enormous number of children supposed by Dr. McKelway to be in the mills, the proportion of children attending the schools could not be greater than the average throughout the remainder of the state.

This comparison is made even more interesting when contrast is had with other counties of the state in which there are no cotton mills, or in which, if there be any, they are so small in number and size as to be no important factor in population. I have contrasted, therefore, the four Piedmont counties referred to with the four counties of Orangeburg, Colleton, Horry and Sumter, two of which —Orangeburg and Sumter—are among the leading agricultural counties of the state. Colleton and Horry, while not so important in their population or wealth as the other two, are nevertheless good counties, and Horry has one of the largest proportions of whites to blacks to be found in any county in South Carolina. These four counties show a proportion of school enrollment to population as follows: Orangeburg, 23.9 per cent; Colleton, 18.4 per cent; Horry, 23.2 per cent; Sumter 21.9 per cent; or an average for the four counties of 21.9 per cent.

To summarize, the four leading cotton mill counties show a proportion of school enrollment to population of 25.7 per cent. Four equally representative agricultural and non-cotton mill counties show a school enrollment in relation to population of 21.9 per cent. Does this not speak volumes in itself, and do these figures not clearly prove that the cotton mill population of South Carolina is securing the advantages of schooling in full proportion to other sections of the state? Do these figures not prove that the policy of the cotton mill corporations in the encouragement of education is having its effect and that the cotton mill employees are reciprocating this policy and are evidencing a desire to secure to their children advantages which they themselves were not able to have before their advent to the mills? Do not these figures prove that the policy of the mill

corporations to install a school at each mill village is having its natural result in the education and cultivation of the employees, and that it is a wise policy of the corporation not to be limited by the public school fund, and schools of from three to five months in duration, but to establish schools in large part paid for out of the funds of the corporation and maintained for from seven to ten months in the year?

In conclusion, do not these school statistics clearly show that the cotton mill corporations and the employees of these corporations have nothing to fear from a compulsory education law, but have everything to gain, inasmuch as such a law will be applicable to all classes of people and would force the same degree of school attendance upon other classes as is sought for and desired in behalf of the cotton mill employees?

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

By George F. Milton,
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The Germans were the earliest to institute a system of general education, and the wonderful progress of Germany in every respect is now largely attributed to the thoroughness of such national education. The fact that in Germany elementary education has been generally compulsory and to a large extent also gratuitous, for more than one hundred and fifty years, is recognized to be an essential element in recent political, industrial and commercial successes of the nation.

France offers a good illustration of the rapidity with which illiteracy may be reduced as a result of good attendance laws. In 1854, no less than 42.5 per cent. of the French people were illiterate. In 1870, at the end of the Empire, 31 per cent. were illiterate, and in 1880 the condition was very little improved. In 1882, the compulsory education act went into effect and as a result, in 1900, the illiteracy had been reduced to 6 per cent.—only one-fifth of what it was eighteen years before.

As showing the relation of the compulsory school system in Germany and other European states to illiteracy, the following statistics of adults are suggestive: German Empire, .05 per cent. are illiterate; Denmark, .02; Finland, .49; Switzerland, .13; Scotland, 2.46; Netherlands, 2.30; England, 3.00; France, 4.70; Belgium (not compulsory), 10.10; Austria, 35.60; Ireland, 7.90; Hungary, 47.80; Greece, 30.00; Italy, 32.99; Portugal, 79.20; Spain, 68.10; Russia, 61.70; Servia, 79.30; Roumania, 88.40.

The right of state authorities to require the attendance of all children at school was asserted early in the American colonies. Connecticut may claim to have been one of the first states in the world that established the principle. Its code of laws adopted in 1650 contained stringent provisions for compulsory attendance upon schools. In 1810, with the changed conditions resulting from immigration, it was found impossible to enforce the law without important additions, amounting in reality to a set of factory laws, forbidding the

employment of children under fourteen years of age who have not attended school for at least three months in the year.

Compulsory educational laws have not been adopted in any of the Southern states except Kentucky and Missouri. Four counties in Tennessee, through legislative enactment, have such laws, but no fair test has yet been given. In Asheville, North Carolina, by popular vote an ordinance was adopted requiring compulsory education. That state has a local option law for cities as to compulsory education. In the South great progress has been made in public education, especially during the past twenty years, despite the fact that this section remains, of all the Union, the only section where attendance on public schools between the ages of six and fourteen for a considerable period each year is not compulsory. But how necessary is an even greater effort to secure universal elementary education in the South is shown in the fact that in 1900, 27.9 per cent of all the illiterate white voters in the United States were in the South, while only 14.9 per cent of the white voters of the country were found here. In other words, we had nearly twice the illiterate population among the whites of voting age that our proportion of population justified.

Decrease of Illiteracy

I have no disposition to minimize the progress made in the South in reducing illiteracy. The record, in fact, is encouraging. In the South Atlantic division, for the entire population, white and black, ten years and over, the percentage of illiterates was reduced from 40.3 per cent in 1870 to 23.9 per cent in 1900, or nearly one-half, while in the South Central Division the reduction was even more marked, the percentages being 44.5 per cent in 1870 and 22.9 per cent in 1900. During these thirty years the percentage of illiteracy in the whole United States was being reduced from 20 in 1870 to 10.7 in 1900. The proportionate reductions were thus larger in the South, by a good deal, than in the North Atlantic states, though slightly less than in the Central and Western.

Considering the white population alone, the percentage of illiterates in the South Atlantic division in 1870 was 23.5, and this had been reduced to 11.5 per cent in 1900. In the South Central states the percentages were 23.4 in 1870 and 11.8 per cent in 1900. For the United States the percentages were 11.5 in 1870 and 6.2 in 1900.

The South, despite the reductions made, is still in point of average literacy behind all the other sections of the Union, and far behind such countries of Europe as the German Empire, Switzerland, Scotland, Netherlands, England, France, Belgium, Ireland. Only Austria, Hungary, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Russia Servia and Roumania of European countries make a worse showing.

Twenty out of the thirty-three counties of Tennessee have in the male whites, able to vote, over 20 per cent illiterate—an aggregate of 13,450. In one of the three grand divisions of the state, there are, I estimate, about 20,000 white illiterates of voting age. In fact, despite the decrease in the percentage of illiterates in the past three decades, the actual number of white illiterates of voting age had actually increased from 37,713 in 1870 to 52,418 in 1900. Tennessee is by no means alone in this condition. In mountain sections of all the South the conditions are most serious, but the white illiteracy is by no means confined to these districts.

Do not understand me to assert that these illiterates are not in many ways educated. They are shrewd, observant people. They are industrious and thrifty. Their intelligence in many respects is large. They are of the best Anglo-Saxon stock and in different environment make rapid progress. Yet, unequipped with ability to read and write, deprived of the illumination of the written word, out of touch with the progress of the world, what a tremendous obstacle must they overcome! Consider what the economic, political and social uplift of a state would be if this population were by reading able to improve itself. In 1906, a candidate for Governor of Tennessee, or Georgia, on an illiteracy platform, receiving the united support of all the illiterates, white and black, would not have been the third man in the contest.

Attendance vs. Enrollment

The fault in our school system seems to lie not only in the failure to secure the enrollment of the child, but more especially in the failure to secure his attendance after enrollment. The scholastic population in Tennessee, with which state I am familiar, was about 772,000 in 1905. There were 507,000 enrolled, 537,000 including private schools, but the average attendance in public schools was only 348,000. When we remember that the average school year in Tennessee is only 116 days, and that less than half

the school children are in school even half that short period during the year, we may appreciate why this condition is present. On its face, the enrollment is creditable, but the irregular attendance and short terms of school make it impossible to cope with the mountain of ignorance to be cut down which needs heroic efforts.

If Germany, with less than one-half of one per cent. of population illiterate, requires a ten months' school course for all pupils from six to fourteen years of age, how will a Southern state reduce its illiteracy to the same degree, with a 116-day course, and one-half the pupils in school?

It has been asked regarding Tennessee, which is typical, "If 242,498 children were not enrolled in the public schools in 1895, and 265,471 were not enrolled in the public schools in 1905, how long will it be until all who are eligible are enrolled?" and "If 382,293 were not in average attendance in 1895 and 424,206 were not in average attendance ten years later, and the per cent. of such attendance is now 68.7, how long until the per cent. of average daily attendance will begin to show an increase?" It may also be asked "If there were more illiterate voters in 1900 than in 1870, when will there be none?"

The campaign for education in the South has accomplished much. Tennessee, for example, is spending nearly $3,400,000 a year on its public schools. This is not quite $5 per capita of scholastic population, but it is a considerable increase. Yet many states spend $15 to $20 per capita.

In general, it may be said that the school terms have been lengthened, the teachers paid better salaries, better buildings and equipment furnished. But does this suffice? Are not even more heroic remedies needed for a condition manifestly so dangerous?

The matter of the present bad attendance is shown in the reports for Knox County and Knoxville. The scholastic population of Knox County for the year 1905-06 was 28,204. Of this number 10,682 belonged to the City of Knoxville, and 17,522 to the rural districts. The enrollment for the city was 5,833 and for the rural districts 12,225. It will thus be seen that the percentage of enrollment was 54.6 in the city, and 70 outside the city. The average attendance of all the scholastic population was 43 per cent in the city and 42 per cent in the country districts. The schools in the city were open 179 days, and those in the country 157

days. The enrollment was good, but owing to lax interest of parents, only forty-three out of every hundred children of school age in the city attended, and less in the country.

To show how the attendance drops off year by year, take the Knoxville schools by grades. Nor is the showing in that city exceptional. In the First grade there were 1,797 pupils; Second, 775; Third, 811; Fourth, 694; Fifth, 504; Sixth, 461; Seventh, 291; Eighth, 261; Ninth, 150; Tenth, 89. Look at the little army of nearly 1,800 diminishing to one-seventh its number before the high school is reached. How many reach the university? How many any technical school? Less than 5 per cent. of our boys and girls acquire an education which we would consider an average common school education.

If the children in school were kept in school for a period long enough to acquire an average elementary education, and thus be equipped with a training which would enable them to pursue their own self-education, the aspect of the situation would not be gloomy and we might ignore these unpleasant statistics of illiteracy. Technical illiteracy would not be alarming, if it did not indicate a condition which nearly always accompanies it. How can we compete with a country like Germany when only one-twentieth of the scholastic population, even of our average cities, has acquired an education equal to that which the entire youth of Germany receives? Furthermore, how shall we compete in industry, commerce and agriculture, when so small a proportion of our population receives technical instruction, while in the Kingdom of Prussia alone there were 2,989 technical or continuation schools, which were attended by 219,492 pupils?

It is, of course, better for the child to secure even two or three years' rudimentary training than none at all, but certainly it is wrong for the state to allow the unworthy parent to permit the child to leave school with such a small equipment for life's battle.

Illiteracy a Public Loss

How little, comparatively, we spend on education, despite our great advance of late, may be gathered from the fact that if the average teacher in Tennessee worked the average number of days at the average salary he would earn only $158.40 a year. Con-

sidering the remuneration, it is truly astonishing that so many devoted and painstaking teachers are obtained for the work; but, of course, on the average the instruction must be inefficient.

I am free to admit that while compulsory education is an ideal condition difficult to be realized, and that a further development of public sentiment in favor of universal education must precede it, just as every reform, moral, social or political, must come as a result of general conviction; nevertheless, our efforts seem futile unless we arouse the states to such an extent that by a mighty effort, under a compulsory system, supported by the intelligent people of the South, the illiterate population not of an age beyond the reach of the schools shall be brought under instruction.

In some quarters, where there is a large negro population, the cost of compulsory education is urged as an objection. But it would seem that as the negro is to be here, he ought to have the right sort of training. It is probable that results up to this time have not repaid the amounts spent, but this is no doubt due to the nature of the education. The negro child, like the white child, needs not only the technical instruction in letters, but more, he needs the discipline and character-forming influences of the schools. In my opinion, the greatest mistake ever made by the South was when it turned the instruction of the negro in churches and in schools over to his own race. The race is in the position of the man trying to raise himself by his own bootstraps.

The inability of the South to spare as much money per capita for education as easily as the North, is very apparent, but inasmuch as the need here is so much greater, the question presents a different aspect. *Should expenditures for education be based on proportionate wealth or on proportionate need?*

Indeed, the figures of wealth, while they do offer some excuse against heavy taxes for schools, also ought to suggest a more important deduction. Let us ask ourselves, if the South had had universal education since 1870, would not the great losses caused by the Civil War have been the sooner repaired, and would not our section, in the wealth of its people, now stand a better comparison with other sections?

Though the South is still behind, the wealth is certainly sufficient for educational needs. The value of property in Tennessee

increased from $498,000,000 in 1870 to $1,400,000,000 in 1900. The day when any state of the South was unable to tax itself for schools for both races to accommodate all the scholastic population has passed. With a per capita wealth of $620, Tennessee ought to spend more than $1.50 per capita on its schools.

In Germany the tremendous stimulus of general education has caused that country to forge ahead of other European nations whose natural resources are greater than Germany's. To overcome the advantage of wealth which the North and West possess over the South, no policy would be complete without the institution of a more general and more thorough system of education of the masses, as the first requisite. To secure such general instruction compulsion must be considered.

The State's Right to Self-Protection

Argument is made that compulsory education is monarchical. It can hardly be so called, since it had its origin in this country. A second argument has been advanced against it, that it enlarges the powers of government. Even if the American precedent could not be quoted, the right to compel attendance at school might, in a republic, be defended under the general head of self-protection, along with quarantine and hygienic regulations. It has also been urged that it interferes with the liberty of parents. No more than laws punishing the parent for the abuses of the child, or for depriving it of necessaries which he is able to prepare for it. In compelling the parent to send the child to school, the state does no more than to secure to the child his right. Often the objection is heard that it deprives the parent of the labor of a child, and that in some cases the parent cannot afford this, or give the child decent clothes, or pay for school books. This, in nearly all communities where compulsory education prevails, is looked after by the state. The community can much better afford to pay for clothing and books than let the child grow up in ignorance.

The state taxes all classes for the support of the public schools, whether they have children to send or not. The state owes it to these taxpayers to see that the taxes collected shall be used for the purpose for which they are levied. This is impossible unless it com-

pels the attendance of all children at school. The taxpayer then, has a right to insist on a general law, on the ground that it is necessary in order to enable the state to perform its obligation to him. But, it may as well be admitted, that something more than the passage of a compulsory educational law is necessary to secure general education. In several countries, and in some of our states, such laws have not proved more effective than voluntary education. Certainly it is essential that by a system of factory laws the opportunity of the child to attend schools must be made, and in addition there must be such a general desire for education and pride in its possession in the community as to induce a general acquiescence and co-operation in the enforcement of the law. In addition, the schools themselves must offer the best advantages. Prussia, the classic land of compulsion, provides in its school laws for an abundance of school-rooms, well-equipped school-houses, and a high grade of teachers, and her compulsory system is successful. In Turkey, Greece and Portugal, where these essentials and the education-loving population are lacking, the laws are not so successful.

The state must be protected against the dragging-down influence of the ignorant. Statistics show that the ignorant commit many more crimes in proportion to their numbers than the educated. Many more such are dependents. It is a burden on the state to prosecute crime and to maintain jails and almshouses. Vice and idleness weaken the community. A parent who permits a child to grow up in ignorance is committing an offense not only against the child but against the state.

Every consideration of the welfare of society, of good government, of the advancement of civilization, demands general elementary education, and as a corollary, more general higher education. But there will never be any material growth in educational progress until the root of the system is nourished.

Experience has shown that, while some ignorant men win success, the mass sinks into the ranks of those who do not know whence the next day's bread is coming. Countries with the highest average of education are certainly marked for the greatest progress to-day. Great as it is, our own growth in wealth does not nearly equal theirs.

The Supreme Need of the South

The economic progress of the South, the development of its splendid mineral and agricultural resources, depends more than all else on the general education of its people, and I do not exclude the negro population, though their education should be of a different character, as suited to a race which can for centuries do only the simpler labor of our section. Education must be not only such as to remove the stigma of illiteracy, but it must be adapted to promote the greatest efficiency of each race. Only one acre of cotton lands in ten in the South is cultivated. Not one-hundredth proportion of our mineral lands is exploited. We do not manufacture anything like what we consume of manufactured goods. The story of the South is of the future not of the past.

Some object to the word "compulsory." It is probably ill-chosen, but the man of intelligence is not disturbed by a word. At present we have schools controlled under the law, but the attendance is voluntary. The establishment of public schools is so universal that it has by custom become in a sense compulsory. There is no objection now expressed to the taxation of property for public school purposes. Such objections were heard years ago, but no longer. If the state is embarked in the business of educating youth, why not pass also an attendance law, so as to make the education the most general and effective? I have no patience with the spirit which opposes such regulation on the ground that it interferes with liberty. Every law does this more or less. Civilized society institutes government and government must control the individual, not only in the interest of other individuals, but in his own interest as well. Every law is compulsory.

The question you have met here to consider is bound with that of education. As the mill doors close on the child, the school doors should open. The same humanitarian spirit which would protect the boy or girl from the destructive influences of labor at an immature age, should be directed to securing the attendance of that child at school. If the child is turned out of the mills to mere idleness and vice, no good is accomplished. The state which denies to a parent the power to profit by the labor of a child too young to resist, ought to force that parent to give the child an opportunity to acquire an education. The ignorance, vice and crime of the

untutored child are on the heads, not only of the parent, but of every citizen who permits this shameful treatment of a ward of society.

Society's interest demands that the youth of the land shall be trained to become as adults integral parts of the great machinery of production, and healthy and intelligent American citizens. If by any neglect society permits them to become criminals and dependents, society alone is to blame.

Progress, I am glad to say, is being made in this movement. At a great conference attended by representatives of the factories and their employees at Nashville last year, resolutions were unanimously adopted favoring compulsory school attendance. Capital and labor here agree.

I have cited the conditions. I am a Southern man and I have pride in what has been done by my section, but I would not, out of pride, endeavor to deny that we need tenfold more zeal in application to these problems.

As I have said, I do not know that compulsory education is immediately practicable, but I firmly believe that it ought to be the end toward which during the next few years, we shall work; and when some Horace Mann or Thomas Jefferson arouses the people of the Southern states to their duty, there need be no longer any doubt of the splendid future of the South.

WHY THE CHILDREN ARE IN THE FACTORY

By Miss Jean M. Gordon,
Factory Inspector, Louisiana.

It seems incredible that, in this age, it should be necessary for men and women to leave their homes and private businesses, to come together to devise ways and means to awaken the consciences of other men and women, and make them feel their responsibility towards little children.

George Eliot conveys the idea somewhere in her writings, if one is sitting in a room and sees a piece of bric-a-brac about to fall, instinctively the hand is put forth to try to catch it. And it does seem that every one would put forth a hand to save the little ones; but that this is not done is evidenced by the gathering of these men and women in Atlanta to-day to try to solve this vexing, disheartening problem.

The most potent reason, in my opinion, why the children are in the factory is our school system. Our present method of instruction, particularly for the boys between eight and twelve, does not interest the children. This is due to two causes: the overcrowded condition of the school rooms, especially in the middle grades, which makes it impossible for the teacher to give personal attention to the less intelligent children, and the alarming number of our children who are defective in sight, hearing, or what is even more prevalent and distressing, the debilitating effects of the adenoid growth, which saps the vitality and acquiring power to an incredible degree.

These defective children soon fall behind in their studies—the teacher has not the time to give them any personal attention or encouragement. They become discouraged and wish to leave school. The teacher sees the standard of her year's work greatly lowered through these so-called stupid children, and she encourages the little ones to leave. You must not blame the teacher, rather blame the niggardly appropriations and the lack of a true appreciation of the great value of education as demonstrated by our Southern lawmakers on this question of education.

Demand for Education

Tell me the South is too poor to educate her children and I tell you we are too poor *not* to educate them. If we are poor, it is because we have been ignorant—ignorant of the value of our great forests and streams, our mines and franchises which we sold to Northern capital. The South must have compulsory industrial education and have it now,—not ten years hence when the boy and girl of to-day have gotten away from us. If need be, stop every other improvement, such as paving and building magnificent court and jail houses. You do not need fine school buildings. Some of the finest men and women this country has ever known were educated in log-cabins. Above all, you want the teacher who has been taught how to teach, who feels her responsibility towards the piece of putty placed in her hands. It is the teacher who will make this America of ours what it should be, not the business man nor the politician.

In Wyoming, one of the states where women are just as good as men on election day, the state has said there shall be no such thing as ignorance—it is too costly; therefore, if there is one child on a mountain top too far from the district school to attend regularly, a teacher is sent to live in the home of that child for ten months, and is paid for the entire twelve months. The state recognizes the right of the child to an education, and of the teacher to a living wage. In the South, we expect a woman to go into a state of coma two or three months of each year, as we pay only for the months she actually works.

And here let me sound my note of warning to those of us who fear that under compulsory education laws the negro child will be educated. As far as my experience goes, I have yet to find a Jew or a negro child in a mill, factory or department store. They are at school, well nourished, playing out in our glorious Southern sunlight, waxing strong and fat; it is only your white-faced, sunken-chested, curved-backed little Christians who are in the mills and department stores.

The public school system must become an adjunct to the home—it must help the busy housewife, who no longer has a yard for her children to play in, but must turn them into the streets while she fulfils the many duties of the position she holds as wife,

mother, housemaid, cook, laundress, seamstress, nurse. This busy woman has a hard time keeping up with the boy or girl of ten or twelve, who, filled with the spirit natural to childhood, wants to be "doing something." The average mother fears the influences of the street and so consents to the child's entering the factory, thinking he is safer within its four walls. Never was there a greater mistake, for all the objections which can be urged against the street, —bad companionship, dust, bad language and disease—prevail in the factory, with the added nervous strain of the work and the constant standing from ten to twelve hours each day. Therefore, our schools must arrange for the defective child, the backward child and the saddest of all children, the child of parents who have not yet learned the value of education! By diversified work, directed play and proper supervision, the school must help the mother raise her child.

If the churches of this country really wish to be a vivifying, dynamic force in our daily life, they must awaken to the fact that they have not taken their share in the great humanitarian movements of the day. These have grown up outside the church. The ministers and church men and women must make their religion work—they cannot afford to keep it as they do their best clothes, only to be used on Sunday. The mill woman who knows she is overworked and underpaid is not apt to feel kindly towards a religion which preaches justice and equality for all, when she sees the men and women who fatten off her day's labors exalted to the high places.

Parental Responsibility

Another reason why the children are at work is the independence which comes, especially to the boy, from the possession of what seems to them a great deal of money, and also the freedom from home surveillance.

I put one boy of nine years out of a department store, whose mother told me he left home at 6.30 a. m., on a breakfast of coffee and bread, taking with him a half loaf of bread for his lunch and a nickel with which he bought a cup of coffee at a bar-room. As he lived too far from the night-school to return home for dinner, he played with other boys similarly situated, until eight o'clock, when they went to school, reaching home at ten o'clock. Think of a child away from home nearly sixteen hours a day—away from all home influence, all parental control! We do much talking about home influence but we do very little work towards securing it.

The boys, also, use the excuse of going to night-school as a cover to their prowling around the haunts of vice and sin in our large cities. Night-schools for children under sixteen years of age should be forbidden by law. I have no patience with any system of economics, or civilization, or Christianity, which permits to exist a condition which deprives a boy or girl of the inalienable right of an American subject, the right to a free, day-light education! There is no more pitiful sight than a lot of tired little brains and bodies bending over spelling books and sums, when they should be in bed.

The United States Supreme Court has just decided by unanimous vote, that the states have the right to legislate in favor of women and children as to their working hours, because woman is the race, and without strong, capable mothers the race becomes decadent. What chance for proper motherhood has the girl of fourteen who starts working in a factory, knowing nothing of the duties of home-making? The knowledge of cooking and housekeeping and the care of children do not drop down upon a woman by intuition on her wedding day, and there is many a heartburn as well as burnt beafsteak and soggy potato, while she learns these essentials, which should have been part of her public school education.

Ignorant parents, knowing nothing of the value of education, constitute another strong factor in accounting for the children who are in the mills. They see only that silver dollar which Dr. Adler said we have all gazed at so long and steadily that it has hypnotized us. They do not appreciate the evil effects upon the child. Out of five hundred homes visited last summer, in only five did I find it necessary or wise to pay the wage of which I had deprived the family by putting the child out of the factory. Back of nearly every child at work is a lazy, shiftless father or an incompetent mother.

The Demand for Cheap Labor

Of course, the desire of the manufacturer for cheap labor is a great incentive to the employment of children. Despite their oft-repeated statement that child labor is unprofitable, they continue to drag-net every city, town and hillside for workers. I have never been able to decide why they turn their mills into eleemosynary institutions, unless it be the same spirit which makes them insist that the healthiest occupation in the world for a young child is work in

a cotton mill. I have been tempted, after listening to the great advantages of a dust-laden, noisy, ten-to-twelve-hour work-day, to put a sign on our mills saying, "Come all ye weary mothers, bring your fretful, restless babies; here is a restful, quiet, clean, sweet atmosphere, and plenty of sunshine, with which we promise to cure any and all ills!"

I know it will surprise many to learn that the installment system is a large factor in the early employment of children. In gathering this item of knowledge, the value of the woman as an inspector was impressed upon me, for the woman factory inspector notices the household furnishings and can go into the kitchen or wash-shed if need be. Many a child is working to pay the weekly installment of $2.50 on the piano, or the fifty cents on the green plush album or the matting with big, pink roses splashed all over it. No one approves more than I of sweet, attractive homes, and the refining influences of music, but it is paying a heavy price for these little elegancies when the future of a child is weighed against the possession of a green album. The whole principle of child labor is such an extravagant one, I marvel that the great practical American people have permitted it to continue, from a purely commercial standpoint. It is certainly a poor business policy which permits a firm or corporation to get seven or eight years' work out of a child and then turn him out upon the community, to be cared for at public expense through long years of invalidism or criminality. As long as we sit passively, content with present conditions, our civilization will remain a travesty, our much-vaunted prosperity a rebuke, and our Christianity a mockery.

THE EDUCATION OF MILL CHILDREN IN THE SOUTH

By Rev. Alfred E. Seddon,
Atlanta, Ga.

Recent investigations into the conditions of child labor in the cotton mills of Mississippi and South Carolina have demonstrated the supreme importance of the education of the children employed in the cotton mills of the South.

In dealing with this subject it is necessary to point out the defects in a system which has many admirable traits, and to call attention to some abuses that have crept into an industry that is the pride of our Southern States. No one who has watched the growth of the South since the war, can have failed to note the great factories that have risen in the midst of our cotton fields, adding to the wealth and dignity of this entire section of the country. In the development of the cotton-milling industry there is something more than commercial growth that challenges admiration. Many engaged in these enterprises are men of magnanimity of spirit as well as of business ability. While making wealth for themselves and their country, they have betrayed a noble regard for the welfare of their employees. The welfare work being done at the Monaghan Mills, at Pelzer, at the Victor Mills, at the Olympia and Granby Mills, and possibly at others in South Carolina; the efforts for social betterment evident at Stonewall, Wesson and Laurel, in Mississippi, are instances of that philanthropic purpose so conspicuous in some of the great business enterprises of the present day.

While paying the most cordial tribute of praise to every effort made by the mill owners of the South for the betterment of the toilers who create their wealth, some things have to be taken into consideration along with this philanthropy, before we can form a just estimate of the situation as a whole.

Not every mill is administered with business ability mingled with philanthropy. There are many mills where the business idea appears to be the controlling idea; where only such provisions are made for the workpeople as are absolutely essential; where the chapel, or the school house, built by the business corporation, is

an advertisement of a philanthropy that has exhausted itself in the effort to erect the building. There are mill communities where the people are living under sordid and degrading conditions; where the child is allowed to grow up illiterate, to become a burden and a menace to the succeeding generation.

This fact is very apt to be overlooked. Local and state newspapers, magazine writers and tourist sight-seers write and talk about the welfare work in the Southern cotton mills, until the impression gains ground that welfare work is a general feature among the Southern mills—the rule, not the exception. The contrary is the case. The factory hand often lives under such conditions of illiteracy, of severance from ordinary human interests, of ignorance of the doings of the outside world, of sordid domestic conditions, as to be unfitted for association with his fellow-citizens in other walks of life. He is conscious of this unfitness, and it wounds and degrades him. Even where it is conceded that some mills are not doing as much welfare work as others, it is supposed these will catch the philanthropic spirit, will follow the good example, and the cotton mill at length become the social savior of the South.

While not denying the value of the good example set by the philanthropic mill owners, we should not over-estimate the tendency to follow it. The imitative process is much too slow. At the present rate it will take millenniums to become universal. Meanwhile the degrading process is going steadily on and is working irrevocable havoc among the children. The children must be saved at all hazards. We dare not leave this important work to do itself.

Compulsory Education

Even the best welfare work being done among the workpeople of the cotton mills falls far short of the necessities of the case. In the South we have no compulsory education law. This leaves the matter of the child's education optional with the parent or the child. A large proportion of the people working in the cotton mills is recruited from among the thriftless, the least prosperous of the agricultural population. The man who, himself, has received no education is not apt to have any just estimate of the value of an education for his children. Not being compelled to send his child to school, he finds it easy to escape the obligation. The factory door extends

an open welcome to the child. The question of age hardly counts. If the child is under twelve, it is an easy matter to furnish a certificate of orphanage, of sickness or poverty of parent or, as is too often done, to make a false statement. The child is set to work. He is defrauded of that which is the birthright of every American child—an education. Henceforth he will be handicapped in the race of life. He is doomed to grow up to illiterate manhood. There is abundant evidence of the illiteracy of the older operatives.

We are sometimes blamed for excess of zeal in urging child-labor legislation, and are advised to wait until the good examples set by the mill owners who are doing "welfare work" shall be followed by all the others; but in view of the illiteracy of the older operatives, we cannot but feel that we have delayed too long, and that, had we educated the parents a generation ago, we should not now find so many children growing up in a condition of disgraceful illiteracy. I stood one day last December outside a spinning mill in Mississippi and entered into conversation with half a dozen "doffer boys" ranging in age from eight to sixteen years. Of these six boys only one could read; he was one of the older boys, and he was only "in the Second Reader." Within sight of the spot there was a large industrial and mechanical school, where three hundred negro children were receiving a good common school education with industrial features. The colored children are not allowed to work in the mills, and it is undoubtedly a good thing, both for themselves and their parents, for they are thus left at liberty to acquire an education and to develop physically, out in the open air and the sunshine. These privileges are debarred the poor white child, who has to spend ten weary hours daily in the hot lint-laden atmosphere of the mill, growing up anæmic, deficient in size and weight, illiterate and apt to degenerate morally.

Illiteracy

These are evils that can and do exist in the presence of the most admirable schemes of welfare work. I have had the privilege of examining personally a large number of mill children in South Carolina and Mississippi. The facts concerning some of the mills will show that many hundreds of children are growing up illiterate in the very mills where thousands of dollars are expended yearly in welfare work.

Some of the South Carolina mills were: The Monaghan, where out of 41 children examined 28 were illiterate; the Victor, where out of 8 children examined 5 were illiterate; the Grendel, where out of 13 children examined 7 were illiterate; the Ninety-six, where out of 10 children examined 6 were illiterate; the Lancaster, where out of 45 children examined 34 were illiterate; the Granby, where out of 25 children examined 12 were illiterate.

Some of the Mississippi mills were: The Wesson, where out of 24 children examined 14 were illiterate; the Natchez, where out of 24 children examined 15 were illiterate; the Meridian, where out of 21 children examined 11 were illiterate; the Stonewall, where out of 37 children examined 29 were illiterate; the Laurel, where out of 24 children examined 20 were illiterate.

Those classed as "illiterate" could not read at all or were able to read very little. In estimating the illiterates at fifty per cent. of the children employed, we are a long way within the mark.

These figures enable us to answer the question: Does welfare work in the mill communities serve the purpose of compulsory education? In view of these facts there is but one answer possible —a deliberate and emphatic "No." This answer is made with no desire to minimize or disparage the splendid welfare work being done by the Parkers at the Monaghan, Victor, Olympia and Granby Mills, and by Captain Ellison Smythe at Pelzer, and Belton in South Carolina. Many thousands of dollars are annually expended by these gentlemen, not merely in the erection of buildings, but in the payment of salaries to trained welfare workers who devote their whole time to laboring for the physical, mental, moral and spiritual uplift of the people who work in the mills. The welfare work in the South Carolina mills just named is the finest of its kind I have seen, and deserves the highest commendation. There may possibly be other mills in the South entitled to similar honorable mention. I have not seen all, and therefore cannot speak for all. The mills at Stonewall, Wesson and Laurel, in Mississippi, are also worthy of mention as providing much that is helpful in uplifting the character of the working people and in providing better environment.

But while acknowledging in the frankest and most cordial way the value of this noble work, we cannot acknowledge that it takes the place of compulsory education, or excuses the presence of children in the mill when they ought to be in school. All this

welfare work is advantageous to the child who wants to learn or whose parents desire his education; but the mill is always eager to have the child. Men may waste time, unable to find employment, but to the child, the doors of the mill are always open. The child who does not like school, the child who does not like study—and there are many such—the child who prefers the comparative freedom of the mill, is free to choose, and, in the absence of a compulsory education law, to follow his choice. That child grows up illiterate in spite of the advantages and opportunities which welfare work may bring within his reach.

The Call of the Mill

But even where there is a disposition on the part of the child to learn, the demands of the mill make very serious inroads. School teachers are constantly complaining of the way the children are taken out of school by the mill. The word goes out that the mill wants every child it can get, and straightway the classes are decimated. The fluctuating and intermittent attendance of the children is one of the chief discouragements of the teacher. In nearly every mill school, teachers speak almost despairingly of their work. They declare the impossibility of any satisfactory progress in their pupils so long as they are not permitted to pursue their studies uninterruptedly. The disparity between the school roll and actual attendance reveals the serious character of these inroads.

At Seneca, S. C., out of 110 children on the roll, only thirty-four were present at the time of my visit. The teacher said the others were in the mill.

	School Enrolment.	*Av. Attendance.*
Monaghan, S. C.	160	120
Victor, S. C.	210	125
Belton, S. C.	201	169
Pelzer, S. C.	309	260
Chiquola, S. C.	134	60
Grendel, S. C.	75	60
Ninety-Six, S. C.	43	29
Greenwold, S. C.	40	28
Lancaster, S. C.	190	80

Granby, S. C., attendance was reported by teachers to be 95 to 97 per cent of the roll, but in this school there is a regular half-time system for children that work in the mill. Those who work in the mill in the morning go to school in the afternoon, and *vice versa.*

One noticeable feature about this list is that the average of school attendance is best at those mills where welfare work is done; showing that such work has a tendency to banish indifference to education.

Some have regarded the half-time system as the best solution of the educational problem in mill communities. It is probably better than no system, but it suggests some very serious objections. In the first place it is overtaxing a growing child's strength to require it to work five hours and to study four or five hours each day. Next, it is unjust to the future man to discount by one-half his opportunity for education. To make fitting preparation for the duties of mature life, the child should devote the period from six to sixteen to acquiring an education. It is the testimony of school teachers that the half-timer soon falls behind his more fortunate classmates who are able to devote the whole time to school. The backward half-timer gets disheartened and takes the earliest opportunity to drop out altogether. It is dreary work trying to learn without hope and the inspiration of conscious progress.

Results of Ignorance

Illiteracy is disastrous for both man and woman, but the burden of child labor bears more heavily on the little girl than on the little boy. This is easily accounted for. The little boy generally begins his career in the mill as a "doffer boy." His task is intermittent, allowing him frequent and long intervals for play. At the Monaghan mill, climbing poles and swings have been provided just outside the mill for these boys to use in their intervals of leisure. The consequence is that the visitor often finds a lot of rollicking, laughing boys whose appearance seems to belie much that has been said about the hard lot of the factory child. But with the little girl it is different. She is at once set to work at the spindles; she must be always on the alert. Her toil is incessant and mostly solitary. She is always on her feet, consequently becoming tired and depressed. She loses the expression of childish joy and gladness. She begins to feel and to look prematurely old. Her seniors, unwisely kind, offer her the snuff stick; she welcomes the stimulant, the more readily because it, in a way, compensates for the badly cooked and insufficient food. It is sad to see those little girls, who should be playing with dolls and kittens and learning to read and write, thus early bearing on

their delicate shoulders the burdens of life. But the loss of an education is calamitous, whether to the light-hearted boy or the heavy-hearted girl. The future has to be reckoned with in either case—a manhood or womanhood handicapped, limited, darkened and saddened by illiteracy.

I have sometimes tried in imagination to creep inside an illiterate soul. I have sometimes tried to imagine the sadly narrowed world of a man who cannot read, one to whom the comic supplement of the newspaper is the only intelligible part, to whom a library is an unassailable treasure-house, to whom the discourse of the learned is an unknown tongue; who is doomed to wander outside the glorious paradise where flourish poetry, music, science and the arts; who is humiliated by the consciousness that he is left behind in the race of life, and has a dim consciousness that somehow society has wronged him. Out of that consciousness grows a feeling of resentment, which, in times of popular tumult, is apt to break out into passionate and unreasoning violence. Of such are the hoodlums and the hooligans of our modern civilization.

At Jackson, Mississippi, I made the statement, that manufacturers did not themselves know the conditions within their own mills. My statement was met with smiles of incredulity from some manufacturers present. Yet it must be, if we are to believe what they say. One superintendent assured me that I would not find any children in his department who could not read. He followed as I examined one after another and heard the children confess that they could neither read nor write. I believe that it was with genuine surprise and sorrow that he said, "I did not think it was so bad as that. I see there is something for me and my wife to do among these children." In a South Carolina mill I found a very little girl attending a machine. She was so small that I inquired whether she was on the pay-roll. On being told she was, I asked her age. She replied, "Seven." Others, close by, volunteered the information that she had been steadily working at the mill for eighteen months. She could neither read nor write. She had never been to school. When I reported this case to the office of the factory, the gentleman to whom I spoke, the secretary and treasurer of the company, took down the child's name and promised to inquire into the case.

The question of the age of young children is one about which

I am constantly at variance with the mill managers. Children, to all appearances under twelve, represent themselves and are represented by their parents and employers to be over that age. If indeed they are as old as represented, it is but too obvious that they are engaged in toil that robs them of normal growth and weight; but the irresistible conclusion is that children are taught by their parents to lie about their age and that manufacturers are much too complacent in conniving at the fraud. Everywhere the teachers warmly commend the crusade against child labor. Everywhere they say they could show so much better results for their work if the children were not so often taken from school because they are wanted in the mill. One school teacher, in a factory village where the mill owners claim that they do much in the way of welfare work, spoke of the cotton mills as the "curse of South Carolina."

This denunciation, though strong, will not be unmerited so long as the cheap labor of children takes the place of the higher paid labor of the adult, leaving him to loaf around in idleness while the child, who should be in school, is doing the work of the adult. It is due to the manufacturers to say that many of them are in favor of compulsory education. This measure should be regarded as an essential accompaniment of child labor legislation. The victory is only half won, if, when we compel the young child to come out of the factory, we do not, at the same time, compel him to enter the school.

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN ABOLISHING CHILD LABOR

By Owen R. Lovejoy,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

Reforms of the abuses of child labor are accomplished by two methods: compulsion and attraction. The factors in the problem are three,—the employer, the parent and the child. The beginnings of social activity against child labor in this as in other countries, have been largely by repressive measures. Perhaps this is necessarily so, though it would be unfortunate to regard them as other than initial steps.

Gradually and almost unnoticed the employment of children, many of them extremely young, has become a part of our industrial system. This was not, we believe, because of any abnormal excess of greed or cruelty, as often charged, but by the operation of a natural economic law coupled with the general lack of public recognition that America has ceased to be exclusively an agricultural country and has become intensely industrial. The sturdy farmer, merchant or professional man, who boasts himself the glorious example of all child labor because he went to work at eight years old and has been self-supporting since, for many years dominated the situation. His assumption that all child labor is to be promoted because work on the farm or in the country store, or in his father's or neighbor's office was a benefit to him, expresses the point of view of a large number of our citizens towards a system grown to such proportions that, by the latest census estimates not less than 688,207 children under sixteen, 186,358 of whom are under fourteen years of age, are in industries other than agricultural.

This report, acknowledged by the Census Bureau to be imperfect because of lack of facilities for collecting accurate data, has practically omitted some industries in which child labor is particularly involved. For example, a recent report of the Bureau of Labor in New York State shows a large number of children, some as young as four or five years, employed in the various home industries in New York City, whereas none of these children under

ten years are reported by the Census Bureau. Twelve cities are shown in the census to have 668 newsboys. None are reported for other cities. But by returns we have just received from authentic sources in thirty-three cities, there are now not less than 17,000 children engaged as newspaper carriers and newsboys, many of them as young as six and eight years of age. The City of Boston alone shows three times as many as the census reports for the entire United States.

Legislation Necessary

Obviously, with such a condition facing society, adding every year several thousand youth to the army of those unfitted for any but the most unskilled and precarious occupations, it has been necessary to seek measures that shall be more immediately effective than the tardy general appreciation of the proper use of the years of childhood. Among the first activities of the National Child Labor Committee was a careful and systematic field study in a number of sections and in various industries, of the extent of child labor and the specific conditions in which many children are employed. Although the reports we have collected frequently disprove the sensational stories of cruelty and oppression that have so often shocked the credulous, they have confirmed the convictions of school officials and other interested authorities, and the reports of serious students in earlier days. The net revelation of the various investigations has been sufficient to convince legislators of the necessity of putting a legal check on the system without waiting for a complete and scientific arraignment of the evil. The result has been that at present, in every state of the Union, with one exception, some form of legal prohibition or regulation of child labor has been enacted.

Nor have these legislative acts been adopted against the united protest of those representing the industries affected. There is a growing disposition among employers, who recognize the short-sighted policy of child employment, to seek the aid of society in bringing their competitors up to their own higher standards.

Many prohibitions secured have been chiefly based on a sense of pity for the wrongs of childhood, but more recently society is becoming conscious that her first asset, citizenship, is being weakened, and next in importance, industry is being cheapened

and impaired. These larger social aspects are being constantly made more prominent in attempts to secure legislative prohibition of child labor, or its more complete regulation. Through public interest, the beginnings of which date from the earlier activities of trade unions, women's clubs, consumers' leagues and many earnest individual workers, there have been enacted important child labor laws in the past four years in thirty-four states. In the legislative sessions of 1906-07, eighteen states enacted new laws or revised existing laws. Eight of these states are Southern. Since January 1st, 1908, important changes in these laws have passed the Legislatures of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi and Oklahoma,[1] while important bills are pending in New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey and the District of Columbia.

Compulsory School Laws

But despite this somewhat formidable record of legislative enactments, we must not be misled. The end we seek, namely, adequate preparation of the American child for citizenship, is not attained, but only made possible of attainment by such prohibitions; and it is significant that although child labor laws reduce the number and force an improvement in the condition of working children, the field of usefulness of such measures is limited by their repressive nature. By multitudes of people affected, whether employers, parents or children, these laws are resented and looked upon as detrimental, while a small army of officials is required to secure their enforcement against the connivance of these three interested factors.

In most instances this negative has been accompanied by positive legislation for compulsory school attendance. In all the states having child labor laws, compulsory school attendance laws have been enacted, except in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. That such laws are effective is strikingly attested by the steady growth of the number of commonwealths adopting them.

In 1870 less than 5 per cent. of the population were subject to compulsory school laws. To-day over 72 per cent. are subject to these laws. But this fact is of slight significance compared with the distribution of the benefits of public education. The

[1]Oklahoma bill vetoed by the Governor June 10th.

United States Department of Education in 1900 reported that over 50 per cent. of all public school pupils were in the first and second grades and were less than nine years of age; 87.5 per cent. were in the first five grades and under twelve years of age. Referring to the amazing achievement of a system of education which enrolls over 16,000,000 pupils and is maintained at an annual expense of over $300,000,000, the Commissioner of Education in his report for 1908 says:

> The mere ability to read and write indicates, however, a very slight remove from crass ignorance, and a large proportion of our people are in danger of stopping at this point. The early withdrawal of pupils from school is a fact universally recognized, although up to this time there have been few systematic investigations as to the extent and the causes of the evil. Such investigations as have been attempted relate to particular cities, differing widely in respect to growth and movement of population. It is, however, significant that they all indicate a marked decline in school attendance between the fourth and fifth school years or grades, and continued decrease thereafter.[2]

The findings of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education have been largely quoted. They are significant of what may be expected to occur in other states at the end of the compulsory school period. In Massachusetts there are 25,000 children between fourteen and sixteen not in school, five-sixths of whom did not complete the grammar school, one-half did not complete the seventh grade, and one-fourth did not complete the sixth grade.

Deserters from School

Charles F. Warner, Principal of the Mechanics' Arts School, Springfield, Mass., made the statement that from the army of 20,000,000 children attending the public schools of the United States during the school year ending 1907, there would be at least 5,000,000 deserters before the roll would be called at the beginning of the following school year. It is of the greatest importance to discover the cause of this desertion; why there is such a decrease in school attendance after the fourth grade; why such impatience for the last day of the compulsory school period to come; what the attractive feature out of school and upon what the deserting pupils enter.

The majority of these pupils become, temporarily or per-

[2]Report of Commissioner of Education for the year ending June 30, 1906.

manently, wage-earners, either from family necessity or because work promises to be less monotonous and irksome than school attendance. The responsibility seems to lie mostly with the child, for out of 3,157 families investigated, 76 per cent. could give the children industrial training and would gladly do so if it were offered. In many instances the parents were found to be spending, in supplementary lessons, such as commercial branches and music, as much as the child's income.

Wasted Years

This investigation also showed that these children's wages are of little value, for they seldom receive over five dollars a week before they are seventeen, and reach the maximum wage of eight to ten dollars at twenty years of age. It is estimated that for every one going into an occupation that has any advantages for the employee, four enter a cotton mill, or become messengers or cash girls. Moreover, it is rare that one goes from an unskilled to a skilled trade. Out of the fifty cases between seventeen and twenty years of age employed in Cambridge in skilled industries, only one had formerly been employed in unskilled labor, other than errand and office work. A boy is rarely found in printing houses who was formerly employed at other work, and this is true of mechanics, plumbers, painters, glass workers, plasterers, masons, and stone-cutters. A comparison was made of the aggregate wages at eighteen years of age, of children leaving school at fourteen and at sixteen. The results showed that even with the faulty education now afforded, the child of sixteen goes from school so much better equipped as a wage earner, that in two years his earnings aggregate more than those of the child who left school at fourteen and has been working four years.

Why do children leave school for such unsatisfactory and poorly-paid employment? The reason for the desertion from school seems mainly to be the positive dislike of school life and a wish to be active. Influenced by their companions, children have a strong ambition for money of their own. Our problem is to supply the attractive power in our educational system that will prove the complement of prohibitive legislation and compulsory elementary education. A compulsory elementary education which results in such distaste for school that children prefer to enter some unskilled

labor, which wastes from two to four years of adolescence for an insignificant wage and leaves them stranded at twenty, has missed the purpose of education. Some helpful facts they may have gleaned, but there has been little influence in shaping their life and ideals. The most common deduction from the investigations made is that "many of these children would be in school if the school promised preparation for some life pursuit."

Practical Education Demanded

The history of our educational system and its perfect adaptation to earlier needs in our civilization are well known, but we might as well face the fact that it is at present class education, for the great majority of our youth enter manual trades, while our schools are in the main furnishing only preparation for professional life.

In a recent paper, Dr. Paul Hanus describes our present educational system as "general," in contrast with the excellent system he advocates. In our judgment our schools are not providing a general education but a special class education. All the dominant characteristics of the regular school method tend to train children to avoid the occupations which command the services of at least ninety per cent. of our population, while they are urged by precept and example to eagerly seek the employments of the other ten per cent. The recruits for our industrial army receive comparatively little of the time or money expended upon our public schools.

Many steps are being taken in this direction, and educators are giving their best thought to the task of adapting our public school system to the needs of an industrial society. In 1890 only thirty-seven city school systems reported as having manual training. In 1906 there were five hundred and ten. Trade schools are being instituted in many cities and state legislatures are rapidly making appropriations for industrial and trade training.

The Commission on Industrial Education appointed in August, 1906, by Governor Guild of Massachusetts, is doing pioneer work. In general, the programs suggested by various educators are excellent, covering as they do the introduction into our elementary schools of practical work with an industrial bent; the multiplication and enlargement of high schools of the manual training type; the founding of trade schools which will provide vocational training

to bridge the chasm between fourteen and sixteen, when so many enter unskilled industries; and continuation schools to serve the needs of those who have already entered industry with meagre preparation.

Anything is admirable that will make our schools a part of real life and impress upon parents and children their practical, helpful character to such a degree that the family will prefer to sacrifice the pittance that might be received for unskilled labor, in order that opportunity may be given to prepare for larger usefulness and remuneration. There are some families in which this sacrifice would be impossible because of poverty. In every such instance, in the interest of the commonwealth, the assistance must be given either by private or public aid. The question as to the limit of social responsibility is a mere quibble. When society dictates that every child shall be educated it must bear the responsibility involved.

Training the Consumer

Every such program should prepare the worker for intelligent consumption, as well as skilled production. It has been said that all our training to-day is a training for consumption. If that is true, it is a most unintelligent training. Every worker during his vocational training should have an opportunity to learn something of the demands and conditions of labor in other industries. Only so can he be fitted for intelligent democratic citizenship, for wise sympathy with fellow-workers, and for an appreciation of work, and the place of the worker in the social scheme. Workers thus trained would not tolerate the inequality of profits to the actual producer and the middle-man, so strikingly demonstrated at the recent Congestion Exhibit in New York City.

They would also demand efficient workmanship and honest service. Whatever the phases through which society may pass, the purpose of education is constant—intelligent citizenship. In a society pre-eminently industrial, the education must be along industrial lines, but if it ends merely in the acquirement of a handicraft it is a failure. Along with the industry there must be training toward lofty industrial ideals. If we could train the coming generation to revolt against shoddy, tawdry, faulty goods, we should have some hope for the steady elevation of our industries to a higher plane. The manufacturer is forced by competition to cater to the

majority demand, and quantity is the popular goal. The true craftsman who is dissatisfied with the dishonest results of the speeding which reduces himself and his fellows to machines has at present one recourse,—he can quit. What is demanded is training for the entire group to which this craftsman belongs. The very class of people who do the shoddy work buy that kind of goods. This is partly due to their cheapness, for the average mechanic cannot afford the better. But the affront to his manhood, the insult to his wife and family, the social sin he commits by taking from the hands of the merchant at any price that which is devoid of all ideals of proportion, beauty, simplicity, honesty, or reasonable utility, does not occur to him.

Choosing an Occupation

The proper training of children is the main concern rather than the effect their training is to have on industries. What is required is not that our public schools shall be called into requisition to train experts in single specialized trades in order to lift the burden of expense from the employer, but that the children shall become so alert and well developed as to be fit for a choice of several opportunities.

A note of warning might be given from the recent suggestion of a noted educator that "the last two years of vocational training would include specialized instruction in the trades appropriate to a given locality." That is legitimate, if the trades that seem proper to the locality afford a fair opportunity for advancement in skill and in wages. Otherwise, the boys and girls should be so fitted by a knowledge of other occupations that their future and the future of their children can never be dominated by what may chance to be "the leading industry" of the community. Sometimes it is obvious to careful students that the dominant industries of a community are not such as offer the best opportunity for the development of skill and for advancement to self-support. In spite of this fact, is it not true that the movement toward manual training is too prone to accept the local situation as inevitable and seek to adjust itself rather than attempting to alter local conditions? For example, the mining of coal is a chief industry in Pennsylvania, but the child of the coal mining community instead of being absolutely predestined in his industrial career, should have presented to him an industrial

horizon broad enough to enable him to choose intelligently whether he will become a coal miner or engage in some other form of employment.

Industrial Training for Girls

Industrial training for girls presents some difficulties that do not appear in the case of boys. At the present time in the United States six million women are gainfully employed. Nearly one-third (30.6 per cent.) of all women between fifteen and twenty-four are so employed. "Statistics of Women at Work," Census Bureau 1907, gives figures that are startling. In seventy-two of the seventy-eight cities with 50,000 inhabitants, more than one-third of all the girls between sixteen and twenty years of age are at work. In thirty-six of these cities more than one-half are earning their living, and in eight the percentage rises from sixty-nine to seventy-seven per cent. of the total number of girls.

Woman in industry is not a new condition. But factory production has forced her out of her home if she would continue productive processes. Formerly, women and girls in the home could, if necessary, materially supplement the family income by producing nearly all the necessities. To-day, if they contribute to family needs, they must find employment elsewhere.

This advent of women into industry outside the home has brought about serious social complications. The standard of wages has undoubtedly been lowered, so that in many instances the whole family cannot earn what the head of the family should singly. Many hold this condition responsible for the general unfitness of the wage-earning woman for family duties and responsibilities, for the outside work she enters upon rarely offers any training that would make her an intelligent consumer. What shall be our attitude toward girls in industry? If it were wise, it would nevertheless be impossible to exclude them. The place they fill is perhaps suggestive of a remedy. They are found mainly, especially the younger ones, in unskilled trades, which do not afford a living wage and give no opportunity to learn a skilled trade. At present one of two courses is open to them: to remain where they constantly lower the wages of others, or enter a home of their own untrained in any particular for that responsibility.

Girls should be excluded by law from all trades which menace

their physical or moral well-being, and thus jeopardize the interest of the home and of future generations. The trades remaining should be carefully selected on the basis of labor demand, opportunities for advancing in efficiency and remuneration, and their effect upon womanly instincts and domestic tastes. In the trades thus selected, they should receive as careful industrial training as boys. Such a course would deter them from entering industry at an age and degree of preparation which forbid their becoming skilled laborers. The unskilled trade is often more vitiating to women from the social standpoint than to men. A boy, at least, looks upon industry as a permanent thing, and rarely fails to have some regard for his fellow workmen. The girl is apt to consider it as a temporary occupation and hence cares nothing for organization or any protective measures. More even than boys, the girl requires a course of training which would make her respect industry and her fellow-worker.

Domestic Service

But side by side with preparation for the trade she chooses, there should be adequate instruction in the subjects that vitally affect the home. She should receive some knowledge of productive processes in general, hygiene, decorative art in its relation to the home, and domestic science. The excuse made for not including domestic science in trade schools now existing is that girls do not desire to go into domestic service. It is preposterous that only those girls who are willing to enter such employment should receive this training. Society, in order to serve its own ends, should expect each girl to be mistress in her own home, and if industrial training is provided at all, should embody domestic science not as a fitting for remunerative occupation, but as preparation for home making. When it does not mark a girl as having chosen to be a domestic servant, undoubtedly many will choose such instruction and go out with loftier ideals of a home and with preparation for its responsibilities. The stigma now resting upon domestic science as being something necessary to be understood only by domestic servants, should be removed. Let us give all our girls the idea that home making requires scientific preparation, or else give up the theory that the home is especially woman's work. Incidentally, this might so develop the future directors of homes that they would

bring about conditions which would make domestic service a dignified and desirable trade.

Opposition to Public Trade Schools

There will undoubtedly be serious differences of opinion between the various factors in society before our educational system is developed on the new lines sufficiently to affect the situation. Both employer and organized workers are divided on the subject of trade schools under a system of public instruction.

The manufacturer doubts the efficiency of workers thus trained. This doubt cannot be removed by argument but only by a practical demonstration of the quality of workmanship. The equipment and instruction should be such that a certificate from a public trade school would mean that its holder lacks nothing that his trade calls for, save the celerity which comes only by practice. However, there is nothing to hinder the inauguration of factory trade schools when an industry so desires. Organized labor fears that the public trade school will flood the labor market and increase the sharpness of competition for work. But, as Robert A. Woods has observed, "it is inconceivable that as a class school-trained workmen should not be even more jealous than others of all unreasonable encroachments upon their wage standard, and that they should not apply their additional training to the development of even more effective forms of labor organization than now exist."

In facing the vast problem of proper education in a democracy, all private and class interests must be forgotten in the interest of the social good. Undoubtedly the manufacturer will profit by having the public, through the trade school, pay for training his recruits and bear the cost of the material now wasted by beginners. To make the employer and not the child the chief beneficiary of such a system, to make the newer education play into the hands of great industrial interests, would be a perversion of a splendid opportunity. But while this direct benefit to the employer is acknowledged, the trained worker and society in general will reap the chief advantage if industrial training is properly directed. The trained worker will cease to be menaced by the helpless and ignorant competitor, many times the child laborer, now so often the potent tool of the employer. Moreover, the trained worker, together with society at large, will reap the constant advantage of having offered for

purchase in the markets, honest products. The community will be relieved of the burden, now so heavy, of that multitude of dependents whose helplessness arises from ignorance and utter lack of training for any useful occupation. Best of all, the youth of our nation, if there is placed before them the opportunity to learn some one handicraft in its completeness, can never be crushed to the level of industrial machines. The methods pursued in this educational revolution must keep paramount the necessity of enhancing our most valuable social asset, human virtue and intelligence.

I bring this topic before you not in the expectation of adding to the wealth of suggestions already available in the program of industrial education, but that you may know that the National Child Labor Committee is content with no partial program for the elimination of child labor. Prohibitive legislation and compulsory elementary education open the door of opportunity for youth, but the education must be of such a character as to help the child by its attraction and lead him into such fields of skilled labor that in the education of his own children compulsion will cease to be necessary.

ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF CHILD LABOR

By Chancellor James H. Kirkland,
Vanderbilt University.

We have discussed child labor within the past two or three days from different standpoints and chiefly as an economic or a social question. This afternoon we propose to look at its ethical significance. It is to be noted that all economic questions have a tendency to run into ethical questions, and that very naturally, illustrating merely the general principle that life is ethical. If conduct is three-fourths of life, then it is of small concern how automatic we make our actions from day to day; how much we develop ourselves into pieces of machinery; in the last sense, when we come to think about it, our actions are right or wrong, according as they are social or anti-social, are directed towards self as an end, or are directed toward the larger world that is outside of self. The old effort to divide life into two parts as sacred and profane has long been abandoned. We may not thus separate our days or our hours or our seasons, and we certainly cannot so separate the ordinary duties and activities. Even the ordinary labors of every-day life are under the sway of eternal laws.

The great economic problems of to-day group themselves largely around labor. These questions can never be considered from an individual standpoint. They are individual to be sure; they are private to be sure; and yet they are public as well as private, and they are social as well as individual. They concern the individual and they concern all society. They concern one group of citizens, and they concern the whole state. They are economic because they have to do with the material basis of society, and civic because they have to do with the foundations of government. They are business questions and yet they are in essence ethical questions. It is a common proverb that "business is business" and that proverb is used sometimes to discourage what is called sentiment in matters of this character. While it may be true that "business is business," it is in a larger sense true that business is ethics. The payment of debts is business and all business would be impossible without it,

yet the payment of debts is an ethical question and I suppose is about the most unpopular proposition that can be presented to any ordinary individual.

The great problems that group themselves around this labor question are the outgrowth of what has been called our commercial age, the outgrowth of that development of invention and discovery that has transformed human society within the past hundred years. This created the large manufacturing centers of the world and this created the wealth of the world; this has made steam and electricity the servants of man, has wrought one achievement after another, and transformed the very face of the earth as it has transformed human society.

Material Development More Rapid Than Ethical

I was reading a statement the other day that seemed very interesting. One hundred years or more ago, at the time of the application of machinery to industry, if some prophet could have foretold the extent to which all this was to be carried, could have seen how completely labor was to be dominated by these great inventions then coming to the front, that prophet would have dared to say, "Now at last is beginning the millennium, now at last human toil is ended, now at last poverty and unhappiness shall be banished from mankind." And yet John Stuart Mill has said that he very much doubts if all the inventions of all the labor-saving machinery in the world have lessened the hours of labor of any single individual. A great engineer said to me a few days ago, "So perfect is human machinery now that the power that is developed by burning a Sunday newspaper under the boiler of a great ship is enough to carry a ton of freight a mile." With that perfection of human machinery and human ingenuity, still there is more poverty and unhappiness and misery and division among men than ever before. All of this has kept pace, has moved right along beside our development in wealth, in science, in art. This leads men to think, it leads men to ask hard questions that they cannot answer. One thing seems to be true, and that is that human society has advanced materially more rapidly than it has advanced ethically. The driving power of human life has been a material one.

Our vital forces from a business standpoint have far exceeded the vitality and power of our ethical relations. We have made great

machines and we have cared for them, but we have killed men in the making; we have grown rich, but we have grown unhappy; we have builded great cities, but we have filled them with slums and with tenement houses. The questions as to the conduct of society are largely business questions. Some of us remember when the Louisiana lottery was up before the judgment of the people of this nation, how hard it was to answer the argument that the state required the money coming from that lottery in order to run its government. New York State is wrestling with a similar proposition in the question of gambling, and whenever these great ethical propositions come up, the answer to them, nine cases out of ten, comes from the realm of materialism; from the low basis of commercialism. For that reason it is very good sometimes to go back to the ethical basis of life. Therefore I lay down two or three general principles that I think we may accept and the acceptance of which, in my opinion, will do something to clear the atmosphere in the discussion of this whole question of child labor.

The Measure of Social Wealth

The first proposition is that the nature and aim of human labor is not human wealth but human weal; that society is interested in well-being more than well-living; that the end of civilization and the test of civilization are not in commercial statistics, not in the populations of states, not in the amount of manufacture, not in the wealth per capita, but in the character of citizenship and in the strength of the manhood and womanhood of the people.

I do not suppose we could give accurate statistics with regard to the production of the silver mines of Laurium to-day, but the schools of the Greek philosophers and the little State of Athens still rule the thought of the world. Crœsus does not cut much figure any longer in the markets of the world, but Socrates still plays a part. Our American life needs to take this lesson to heart.

We who boast of our citizenship; we who boast of the progress of our country, and who as loyal American citizens dream of the future that we shall complete in the march of events, we need to remember that our glory will not be in our population, that it will not be in Wall Street or in the strength of our banks, that it will not be in skyscrapers and the wealth represented by them, but if our glory is to be permanent it must be in the character of American citizenship.

Protection of Children Paramount

And I dare lay down another fundamental proposition on this topic. There are some duties that the state may neglect; there are some duties that the state may postpone, but a state may not neglect, may not postpone, its interest in protecting and developing the childhood of that state.

We are not so much concerned as we sometimes think we are as to our navies or our armies. It is a good thing to have a navy, especially if you happen to get into war, but we get up a great deal of unnecessary sentiment on these matters. For the past few weeks we have discussed the proper armor line of the great battleships, and yet every one of those battleships will probably be put on the junk-heaps without having an opportunity to settle that question by experiment. We develop a great amount of spectacular excitement over some question that is remote, as what will become of the Philippine Islands fifty or one hundred years from now, but we are disposed criminally to neglect the questions that lie immediately at our doors. That is why we see childhood, the childhood of America, sacrificed while we are debating over some abstract proposition. The state has no higher duty than the duty to care for its children; to protect them, educate them, provide means for their development; and that is the only issue where failure on the part of the state is absolute and without remedy. There is no salvation anywhere else. States may have divergent views about the tariff. One state may be for free trade and another for protection, and both may alike prosper. One state may be a military state, and another a peaceable state, and both be alike prosperous. They may have conflicting ideas on a great many propositions, but on this one proposition there is no room for division, no room for argument. The state that does not look after the children of the state is inviting its own destruction.

Individual Responsibility

The last proposition I lay down is this: that what is the duty of the state, what is the duty of society, becomes the duty and responsibility and privilege of the individual, not to be shirked by putting it off on some abstract organization that we call society or that we call the church or that we call the state. The funda-

mental difficulty of this whole proposition has been the lack of public interest in it. Why is it that we cannot have proper laws on this question of child labor? Is it because our students of economics are too ignorant to make suggestions to us? Not at all. Wise suggestions have been made over and over again. We know what a good child labor law is. Is it because our manufacturers so control things that we cannot have legislation? On the contrary, many of them are willing to enter into the support of reasonable legislation, and those that are not willing constitute but a small minority in society, and have no power of controlling the legislation of the state. The reason we have not a better condition of things in this country is that the Christian men and women of Atlanta and Nashville and New Orleans and every Southern city, and every city in this country, do not care for these things and are indifferent as to their children. This state of things will not be remedied except under the compelling law of human interest, and when we want these things we shall have them. My proposition, therefore, is that it is your duty and my duty to busy ourselves with the ethical concern of the state. It is somebody's business to take an interest in these things; it is somebody's business to say to capital, "You may mortgage the streets of our cities; you may bond our railroads; you may syndicate the water that we drink; you may lay hands on the very air that we breathe, but you shall not mortgage the childhood of this generation; you shall not blight in earliest bud the manhood and womanhood of the next generation."

We want the church to be busy about this matter. It will be a better thing for the churches to do than running the Wednesday night prayer meeting. We want the state to be busy about this. It will be a great deal better for the state to do this than to be holding some great political convention where the only serious proposition is whether one man shall go out and another man shall go in. We want the state to build its school houses, to build them all over the land, and to put the flag of our country above them, and we want the churches to build chapels and Sunday-school rooms and ring out the chimes from every steeple, and we want both state and church to cry out with the cry of that Master of men and lover of children, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

THE DUTY OF THE PEOPLE IN CHILD PROTECTION

By Hon. Hoke Smith,
Governor of Georgia.

Our chairman has referred to Socrates and Crœsus, and in a manner to cause us to admire the one and to be careless of the other. I have no doubt that even during their lives Socrates enjoyed privileges and experienced forms of pleasure that were shut out to the cold and selfish career simply of money. If we are to serve our God, our country and our fellowman, if that is our highest duty, how can we find anywhere the union of all three of these services so completely blended as when we seek to train our children and the children of our country mentally, physically, morally and spiritually?

When Solomon told us that we must train up a child as he should go and afterward he would not depart from the way, it was a solemn admonition; it was broad language which he used. It contemplated that when we care for the child, we must look after the physical child as well as the mental child; we must look after the moral child as well as the spiritual child. We have our school houses, especially devoted to training them in books; we have our Sunday schools, especially devoted to training them in the Bible. If we take off either of these lines of instruction, their work will be defective. You cannot lead a man to the true conception of spiritual truths, or to any faith in you as a spiritual leader, if you are content to see the man's mother in want and his wife and children hungry and naked. The work of the pulpit cannot accomplish its highest end, it cannot produce its richest fruit, if it is to be limited to that to which I have just referred, modern evangelization. It must be broadened into a conception of life of the present as well as of the future, of the things that surround man here on earth; and the pulpit must teach, as to the child, not simply the spiritual state, it must also consider the responsibility of adults for the mental, physical and moral side of the child as well as the spiritual.

Symmetrical Training

There can be no complete development of child or of man on simply departmental lines. His training must cover, if it is to be

genuine and complete, the full characteristics and qualities that go to make a useful man or woman. When we contemplate the work in the protection of children, we must realize that for that work to reach its proper place, public sentiment must be applied and people must understand what is necessary for the mental development; what is necessary for the physical protection; what is necessary for the moral growth, as well as what should be taught for the spiritual future of the child.

We have in our country a great organization of men called "The Laymen's Foreign Mission Brotherhood." Against it I utter no criticism. About it I have nothing to say but praise. But I cannot help feeling that the boys and girls of *our own country* need something, too. I cannot feel that it is necessary to cross the great Pacific and mingle with the yellow and brown skins and the black skins in Africa, to have something so far off that it has to arouse the imagination, before we can bring to our heart real joy and serve our Maker as faithful children, while right here at our homes, by our firesides almost, there are flaxen-haired boys and girls growing up starved mentally, starved physically, starved morally and spiritually.

If we expect to do for these children all to which they are entitled, if we expect to render them full service, then we must teach the people, we must let them understand. I do not believe the men and women of this city or state or nation are careless about the welfare of their fellows. I do not believe they really are more interested in a little Korean or a little Chinaman than they are in the Caucasian right in our own town. It is because the one has been taught them and talked to them in season and out of season, and the other has been neglected; not often referred to in the pulpit, not often referred to by laymen's organizations. They are simply forgetful and unconscious of the opportunities right at the very gates of Jerusalem. The time has passed when any man can raise the objection, when legislation, state or national, is proposed to help the child, that paternalism is threatened. It is not paternalism that he is so much afraid of, it is too much patriotism. The states will readily respond, if the people only understand.

You have made great progress. The work of protecting the children from the workshop and factory has grown all over our land. It took England over a hundred years to arouse the people

of that country to the fear that they were, from an economic standpoint, destroying the power of their country by consuming the useful hours of the children's life at brutal and destructive labor. Our people are realizing it rapidly. The difficulty that really confronts us is that a small organization with a purpose is dangerous as an antagonist against the great body of people who lack organization. For this very reason it is necessary to get the people to really think. Children must be trained for the great civic responsibility that rests upon them, that they may learn to watch and know what takes place in legislative halls, and then they will be ready if a law comes before a deliberative body, to know who represent them, for the protection of their own mental and physical well being. They will be watchful and call to speedy account the legislator who is faithless to the great trust which we all carry and owe to the children of our land.

Investigation

And beyond our duty to create a wholesome sentiment, to produce an organization back of the protection of children in legislative halls, there is another great duty that rests upon us that the state cannot reach. It is the responsibility of individual inquiry; of individual investigation. Suppose it were possible to arouse the women of any city in our country to a consciousness that there are little boys and girls in homes without food, where they are growing up starved mentally while they are starving physically. Do you suppose they would wear themselves out trying to find something to amuse themselves? Oh, they would not. It is because they do not know; it is because they do not understand; it is because they have not been turned to this great work. In this city of ours, if we had the women here and they could be told the story, if we produced the machinery to furnish them the instances where the opportunity was given to go to a family in want, to a widow with her two or three little boys out on the streets at eight and ten years of age, subjected to all kinds of temptations as they help to make a living selling a paper for two pennies, and the girl in want and in danger of worse, they would go to that family with hearts full of love, to carry a charity that would help put these children in a position to prepare themselves to be independent when manhood and womanhood come.

We have no great organization of laymen in the United States with able representatives traveling throughout the country, talking in the churches and pointing the way. This is one of the people's duties, to prepare to protect all of our boys and girls against want, by fitting them mentally, morally, physically and spiritually for the responsibilities of life. I would have the pulpits used to teach these truths to the children; to teach, as I said before, something more than mere modern evangelization; to teach the doctrine of practical service, the responsibility of man for man; for we are our brothers' keepers and we cannot escape the responsibility that attaches to that fact, and we will not let our zeal flag. You will move on in your glorious work; you will gain recruits as you move; you will never weary of the task, for as well might the angel standing at heaven's gate weary of his task, when each time he swings the gate ajar, another soul is ushered into Paradise.

ESSENTIALS IN FACTORY INSPECTION

By Hon. John H. Morgan,
Chief Inspector of Workshops and Factories, Ohio.

Factory inspection and factory laws generally, if not invariably, include the child labor laws. In fact, I know of no state having a bureau organized for the express purpose of enforcing child labor legislation.

In successful factory inspection there are at least three essentials: laws, means of enforcement, and the moral support of the people. The laws should be reasonable, definite, practical, and of as high a standard as can be rigidly enforced without antagonizing public sentiment. The laws of several states composing a group geographically or industrially should be uniform; in fact, we should have uniform laws throughout the nation, not only that they may be enforced more easily, but in justice to the manufacturers carrying on the same class of industries. I would not be understood, however, as favoring a lowering of the standard of the laws of any state in order to secure this much-desired uniformity. That is not my idea of successful factory legislation. For instance, in the Ohio Valley states Illinois is the only one having an eight-hour work-day for minors under the age of sixteen years, and this law is enforced successfully. We have not tried to induce Illinois to increase the number of work hours, but have followed her example. Ohio has enacted during this session of the legislature a similar law, which will go into effect on the first day of July, this year. In fact, it is a little in advance of the Illinois law, in that it provides that no girl under the age of eighteen shall be employed more than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. We hope the rest of this group of states will soon enact similar legislation.

I will not attempt to go into the defects of the laws of any state in particular. We who work in this field know the imperfections only too well. Even in the best of factory laws there is much room for improvement.

Factory inspection is a practical question, which must be

settled by experience. It need not be, however, by experience born of selfishness, and greed, and indifference. We are appalled by some public calamity, such as an Iroquois Theater fire, the burning of the Slocum, or the sacrifice of 175 children as in the fire in the Collinwood school building. These horrify and terrify us, and cause us to smart with indignation; and rightly so, generally, because these catastrophes can usually be traced to the mad rush for wealth, or a penurious false economy in construction of public buildings, or wilful negligence and indifference. But, if we would only realize it, these public calamities are a small factor compared with the vast slaughter that is going on, day in and day out among the employees in the shops, factories and mines, and on our railroads. The sorry part of it is a large part of it could be avoided by the strict enforcement of adequate laws.

In the wake of the prosperity we have of recent years been experiencing has come bane as well as blessing. Industry and prosperity have come to us by leaps and bounds; we have come to be the workshop of the world. It has been one continuous march of progress from the time the master and workman were one and the same, working to supply the needs of himself and his neighbors, on through the various stages of the small shop and factory employing a few helpers to the large establishment employing hundreds, and finally to a concentration of industries whereby thousands and thousands of employees are under the control of a corporation or trust.

Public Awakening

I have said it was one continuous march of progress, but is this true in the highest sense? Is it not possible that as a nation we have had our vision so centered on material things that we have forgotten, or are forgetting, the better things of life? Employer and employee have been so busy making money that they have had little time, and less inclination in too many instances, to give any thought to the real welfare of mankind. Neither is without fault in this connection, for I have seen as much greed manifested among workmen as among employers. Human nature seems to be about the same in all walks of life, when given full swing. The piecework system and the sub-contract have developed to such an extent that we are grinding out the very lives of our

working people. Human life is the cheapest grist that passes through our wheels of industry. These conditions have grown on us so gradually and stealthily that we have scarcely realized the enormity of the crime. In fact, we have rather accepted it as the legitimate condition of the work-a-day world.

I have referred to the sad catastrophe at Collinwood, where one hundred and seventy-five children lost their lives in a burning school building. The whole nation paused to sorrow, pity and blame. The sacrifice at one time, in such tragic manner, of so many, was what appalled us. But the sacrifice that is made little by little each day by the working children of this country, is passed almost wholly unnoticed by a majority of the people. And it is a sacrifice, for we should have legislation throughout the entire country, and the means to enforce it, that would prevent this jeopardy of morals, health, and life itself. It seems frightful to think that a people as intelligent as the Americans, cannot, or will not, read the writing on the wall, until some great public sacrifice of life is made. In cases like the Collinwood disaster, the awakening is instantaneous, and preventive measures are quickly put into effect. But it has taken us years to slowly awaken to the insidious havoc wrought in the lives of our working people by our long neglect of factory conditions, especially as they apply to young people. Recently the crusaders against the White Plague have realized how many victims are enrolled from the ranks of factory employees, and they have joined the ranks of kindred organizations in helping all they can to better the conditions.

The future of our country is not very promising unless we fully realize at an early date the responsibility resting upon us in these matters. What we need in this country is a great awakening to the value of human life, of health and of morals. We need to fix the responsibility.

One of the chief elements of success in any law is the enforcement thereof. We have learned that simply placing laws on the statute books does not remedy the evils; it is the enforcement that brings relief.

More Inspectors Needed

Very few if any of the states with regularly organized factory inspection departments have as many inspectors as are needed

to perform the work in the manner required. One of the long-standing needs in Ohio, is a material increase in the number of inspectors. We have succeeded during this session of the General Assembly in passing a bill amending the present child labor laws and providing for the appointment of eight women factory inspectors, or visitors, whose duties shall pertain to establishments in which women and young people are employed. This law, as I have previously stated, goes into effect the first day of next July. We shall then have a child labor law in force which we hope will be accepted as a standard by every state not so far advanced in such legislation, and we believe we will have the means of securing its practical enforcement. We are hopeful, however, that the present legislature will give us an increase in the number of factory and building inspectors, in order that this branch of the work, for which the department was specifically organized, may have proper consideration.

Difficulties of Inspection

The creed of the factory inspector is, or should be, Protection: protection of the life, health and morals of the workers, old and young, male and female. In this work the factory inspector occupies a peculiar position. He stands as the representative of the people, protecting the only capital the worker has—his health and morals. Therefore, to look for defects is the lot of the alert inspector. No matter how well equipped, nor how well regulated a factory or establishment may be, it is still his duty to guard against the unexpected as far as possible. To be sucessful he must be a practical mechanic of good habits; diplomatic in his relations with men; strong enough to demand and insist that the law be complied with, and in full sympathy with all features of the work, including the child labor laws. He should have sufficient force of character to rise above the pessimistic character of his work, or he will be lost; he should be a real optimist at heart. My idea of successful factory inspection is to secure by frequent visits the co-operation of employers in maintaining fair conditions.

For years we have had in Ohio, a very good child labor law, as well as very fair general factory laws, and some effort has been made to enforce them, but I will frankly say we are a long way from Utopia. In my opinion, human nature is about the same on both

sides of the Ohio River, and I believe it is no different there from that in other localities. I, therefore, am at a loss to comprehend the statements of inspectors who claim that employers do not misrepresent conditions; that they have never had employers make false statements about their minor employees, and that they have the hearty co-operation of the employers of their states. We have many broad-minded, philanthropic employers in the State of Ohio—men with whom it is a pleasure for the factory inspector to do business; but we could not truthfully state that the employers all over the state give us their hearty support. In fact, we have had to fight every inch of the way, and are still fighting. We have fought for legislation, and we have contended for enforcement. Our inspectors have gone into establishments expecting to find ideal conditions as far as child labor was concerned, only to learn that the few minutes' wait at the office was sufficient to allow the children to be sent out the back way. In conducting our squad campaigns, we have had instances of a number of inspectors entering a department store a few minutes ahead of the regular inspector for the district, who is generally well known; and on the arrival of the latter, the mad rush of the floor managers to get the children out while the inspector was detained in the office, resembled a panic. When this was done they found the store full of inspectors and themselves caught in the act of trying to deceive.

The age and schooling certificates are also a source of more or less trouble to the inspector. For while we have the able, cheerful and conscientious support of some of the school authorities in this feature of our work, there are too many who cannot see their way clear to take it up in the right spirit, and this makes it difficult for both employer and inspector.

These are only slight reminders of some of the obstacles the inspector meets in his work. His position is not an enviable one. He is frequently a public target for criticism. People interested in the children want to know what the inspector is doing that so many children are allowed to work in the factories. The adult worker cannot understand why his grievances are not righted, and there is a clamor from the general public for protection in places where they assemble for learning or amusement. At present the public buildings are receiving the attention of the entire Ohio department, but

this is not always accepted gracefully as a reason for failure to keep up the factory and child labor part of our work at the same time.

Public Responsibility

But, with all this, I am hopeful that we are about to see the dawn of better conditions in every respect. Public sentiment is becoming enthused, not spasmodically, but with a steady, growing, enduring enthusiasm, and it is this which will leaven the larger part of this whole question. It is the greatest essential, in my estimation. Public sentiment is what demands laws for the good of the people, and it is public sentiment that enforces them. It was public sentiment aroused, developed and stimulated by the labor organizations, and the women's welfare and patriotic organizations, that secured the passage of the eight-hour law for minors in Ohio; and it will be this same influence that will make possible a rigid enforcement of it.

The National Child Labor Committee, representing public sentiment, as it does, in a sort of semi-official manner, is a very important factor in the solution of the great industrial problems. It represents in large measure the crystallized sentiment in this work, and it is meet that we should come together in this way to learn of each other's experiences, difficulties, purposes, and principles, to the end that we may work together harmoniously and understandingly.

The labor organizations of the country have for years recognized the evils in the industrial world, and have fought valiantly against their progress. They have endeavored to put into practice and to teach the principles of the brotherhood of man. They have tried to scatter the seeds of altruism, brotherliness, and fair-play far and wide, and I feel that some of their efforts have fallen on good ground, and in due season we shall reap the harvest. Nay, if I read the signs of the times aright, the harvest is ripening, and the reapers are gathering in great numbers. Broad-minded men and women in all ranks of life are devoting time and energy to this vital work. People of leisure and wealth; people of learning and wide experience; college students, club women, labor and patriotic and political organizations, the church and the press, have all taken hold of this work in dead earnest, and its success is assured. We fully realize that factory legislation is really only in its infancy; that its possibilities are great, and while our progress may be slow at times, it will never stop altogether. There is always a goal to be

attained, and each and every one may have his share in the result, if he will.

"There's a fount about to stream,
There's a warmth about to glow,
There's a flower about to blow,
There's a midnight blackness changing into gray;
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way."

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CONSUMER

By Florence Kelley,
General Secretary, National Consumers' League.

The prime responsibility of the consuming public is it own ignorance. At the close of every public meeting at which the aims of the Consumers' League are presented, people who look intelligent come to the speaker and say, "This is an entirely new idea to me. I never knew that things are as you describe them. What can we do about it?" The principal task of the League is, therefore, to enlighten men and women who are eager to do right if they can but know what is right. What then are the sources of knowledge available for the consumer to-day?

Some of them lie ready at hand. Everyone can see how small is the newsboy in the street. If, in buying papers, we give the preference to big boys, we use the obvious means to encourage big boys and discourage little ones in the newspaper business in the streets. And nothing could be more clearly our duty than this. If the public refused outright to buy papers from little newsboys as effectively as it long ago ceased to buy hair shirts and horsehair furniture, no little newsboys would be undergoing a daily process of ruin and demoralization upon our city streets.

Everyone can see, too, how big or little is the messenger and telegraph boy who comes to the home or the office. It costs only a postal card or a telephone call to protest to the management that we prefer to be served by big messengers, not little ones. Whenever enough people refuse to be served by boys as messengers, our telegrams and messages will be delivered by men as responsible and trustworthy as the uniformed letter carriers of Uncle Sam.

Everyone can see, in the stores, how big and how little are the cash children. If a child is undersized, I do not wish to be served by her, even though she may have working papers. She should be sent to the country to recuperate and attain the normal stature of a child of her age if she be really fourteen or fifteen years of age. To be served by undersized children is no better than to be served by underaged children. In both cases alike the consumer is the indirect

employer and can by no means escape a share in the moral responsibility for the employment.

When enough women act upon the conviction that girls should be in school—not in retail trade—until they are fifteen or sixteen years old, the weary little cash girl will follow the duel and the lottery into the memories of a sinful past.

The newsboys, then, and the cash children we can see for ourselves, together with the messengers and the lads who deliver goods for the milkman and grocer. The careless ordering of groceries to be delivered in homes in the evening is a source of overwork and cruelly long hours for thousands of delivery boys every Saturday night in the year. And there is the less excuse for this because these boys come directly under the eye of the housewife who is their ruthless indirect employer.

The second obvious means of getting knowledge of our unseen young servants, is the voluntary organization of consumers acting through visiting committees or executive secretaries. Thus the Consumers' League of the City of New York has had, for nine years, the same visiting committee who confer with merchants on the interesting subjects of hours, wages, seats, vacations, Saturday half-holidays, lunch and rest rooms, and all other points affecting the welfare of the young workers and the consciences of the customers who are their indirect employers.

This committee verifies and rectifies its information from the point of view of the young wage-earners themselves, by a widely ramified acquaintance in working-girls' clubs, vacation houses, settlement classes, and many other sources of information.

The National Consumers' League goes beyond the store to the factory, and in one narrow field of manufacture, that of women's and children's white stitched underwear, awards the use of its label to manufacturers who employ no children below the age of sixteen years, give out no work to be done away from their own premises, employ no one longer than ten hours in one day, and obey the state factory law.

At present it is, however, only a small part of the mass of young workers about whom we can get sufficient, trustworthy information through our own observation or by means of voluntary organizations. How then, are we to act intelligently about these other unseen young servants?

The most immediate and accessible source of knowledge, everywhere, is the educational authority. No one knows so well as the public school teachers, how the children drop out of school from the third and fourth grades to go to work.

A community without a school census is a relic of barbarism. Unfortunately, we still have many such relics, and there is no more interesting and enlightening task awaiting the inquiring consumer than an effort to get from the local educational authority an accurate knowledge of the whereabouts of the children. How many are there in the city? Of these, how many are enrolled in the schools? What are the children doing who are not enrolled? What are the irregulars doing when they are absent from school? If we honestly wish to know how far we are indirectly employing little ones who should be in the primary grades, one way to learn the truth is to insist upon full answers to these questions, each in her own community. When these answers are wholly satisfactory, we may claim to be doing pretty well in our home town. But where are the answers to these questions wholly satisfactory to-day?

In some of the states, there is a good deal of trustworthy information, in readable form, which we can get without expense (beyond the cost of a postal card) from the Department of Labor or the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In this respect, New York excels all the other states, for the Department of Labor issues monthly summaries, quarterly bulletins, and annual reports distributed promptly while the information which they contain is still fresh and valuable. From these sources we can learn, for this one great industrial state, how many children are found at work legally and illegally, exactly what provisions of the labor law apply to them, and how these provisions are enforced, how many violations of the law are found and what penalties are inflicted upon the law-breakers.

In other states, notably in Massachusetts, the Department of Labor Statistics publishes a careful study of child labor from different points of view.

Many state departments are, however, so dilatory that their facts are obsolete before they are published. This is always true when the reports are biennial as is the case in a shamefully large number of states. But belated, obsolete information is misleading and therefore, when presented as current, is worse than acknowledged ignorance.

Sometimes the official reports are so badly compiled that they seem designed to conceal the truth. This is conspicuously true in Pennsylvania, from whose reports it is impossible to learn with any certainty in what industries children are employed, what violations of the child labor law occur, by whom it is violated, or how violations are punished, if at all.

Sadder still, is the plight of the conscientious, inquiring consumer in those states which, like South Carolina and Georgia, envelop the whole subject in Stygian darkness, having no factory inspection, no truant officers, no school census, no bureau of labor statistics, no state census half way between the years of the federal census, no state department of education, no public source, whatever, of the information which we so urgently need.

The policy of these states accentuates the need for a Children's Bureau in the Department of the Interior, at Washington, from which might be sent out all that information which we have now no adequate means of acquiring.

The investigation of the work of women and children now being carried on by the Federal Department of Labor fails to meet the need for current information since its results, like those of all federal investigations hitherto on this vitally important subject, will be already largely obsolete before they reach the reader.

None of this inadequacy and failure is inevitable. When enough citizens demand current, trustworthy, readable information, the authorities will furnish it. The most urgent responsibility of the consumer is thus clearly to deal with her own ignorance by every possible means—to observe the visible working children, and to insist upon obtaining from the city, state and federal officials fresh and valid information about the unseen ones.

A modest attempt to help in this process is the publication by the Consumers' League, of the Handbook of Child Labor Legislation, which shows in compact form where the need of legislation is greatest, and what has been accomplished for the protection of the children and incidentally for the consciences of their indirect employers, the consuming public.

Having knowledge, the next link in the chain is the use of the facts. Let us give the preference in our dealing to the merchant who employs large help; let us make it commercially valuable to a manufacturer when he follows the example of the enlightened mer-

chant. Let us publish far and wide the recommended list of merchants offered by the Consumers' Leagues in the various cities. Let us make it as disreputable to be seen coming out of a store in the late afternoon, or on Saturday afternoon, as it is to be seen coming out of a saloon.

Finally, the desecration of Christmas, the association of cruel overwork with the Christmas holidays, is wholly the fault of the shopping public. There need never again be a cruel Christmas. That rests entirely with the Christian shoppers. It is their responsibility.

CHILDREN ON THE STREETS OF CINCINNATI

By E. N. Clopper,
Secretary for Ohio Valley States, National Child Labor Committee.

The number of children upon the streets of Cincinnati and the conditions surrounding them do not present a problem differing in any notable respect from the situation in any other large city. The population of the city consists largely of Jews and German-Americans, both of these peoples being home-loving, law-abiding and thrifty, who almost invariably provide good homes and educational facilities for their offspring, and in this fact lies the hope for the improvement of the conditions now existing among the less fortunate elements of this city's population.

The school census for last year showed there were 110,591 children between the ages of six and twenty-one in the city; of this number thirty-five per cent were not attending any kind of school, but sixty per cent were above the age limit for compulsory attendance. Of the total number of children between the ages of six and fourteen, the compulsory period, twenty-eight per cent were not enrolled in the public schools, but as the parochial and private schools of the city instruct more than half as many children as do the public schools, it is reasonable to conclude that the number of children in Cincinnati within the age limits for compulsory school attendance who do not attend any school, is small. There are no statistics available to show the exact number.

Newsboys

As in other cities, the great majority of children engaged in following the street trades in Cincinnati are newsboys. There are about 1,900 regular newsboys in the city, of whom approximately one-fifth are negroes. The Newsboys' Protective Association was organized for these boys in January, 1907, and club rooms were provided in the downtown district. The association is supported by subscription and by the proceeds from entertainments. Certain wealthy business men of the city have guaranteed its maintenance in case of financial embarrassment. A reading room, a gymnasium

and baths have been installed and the services of a superintendent who gives all of his time to the club, have been secured. Here boys congregate in the evening and at other hours when not engaged in selling papers, the object being to get them off the street during their leisure hours. The attendance, however, is small. The present membership of the association is nearly 500, but the average daily attendance during February, March and April of this year was only 56, three-fifths of these being white and the rest colored. The attendance is greater during the school vacation period. The superintendent co-operates with the truant officers and the probation officers connected with the juvenile court, to the end that as many of the boys as possible shall attend school.

The morning newspapers are distributed almost entirely by youths and men, the boys, as a rule, handling only the afternoon papers. Except during the baseball season there is ordinarily no demand for these papers after seven o'clock in the evening, the last edition being issued at half-past two in the afternoon. Consequently the boys have their winter evenings free. But during the summer they are in the streets with the sporting editions usually until nine o'clock. The majority return home as soon as their papers have been sold, but many remain in the downtown district until late at night, some begging money from passersby, others offering chewing gum, shoe strings or lead pencils for sale, but in reality also begging, others lingering about the five-cent theatres and flitting around from place to place, generally absorbed in the evil features of the city's life. The number of girls who sell newspapers in the city is very small indeed, and officers spare no efforts to discourage and prevent the practice. In fact, the girls so employed are so few that they do not form a factor in the problem.

Children as young as five years of age sell papers in the residence districts. The branch offices of the afternoon newspapers sell to the newsboys at the rate of two copies for one cent, the children earning half a cent by the sale of every copy. Little five-year-old tots begin their careers by purchasing two copies and earn a cent by their sale each afternoon. Some of the older boys dispose of as many as three hundred copies daily, thus earning $1.50 in two or three hours, but thirty-five or forty cents represents the average amount earned in one day. Newsboys may return all unsold copies and be reimbursed at the purchase price, but this is done only in

rare instances, for the children persist until all their copies have been sold.

The situation in Cincinnati is greatly aggravated by the policy pursued by agents of two afternoon newspapers to maintain and extend their circulation. A number of bullies are employed whose principal duty is to follow the newsboys who sell the opposition paper and threaten and harass them if they are found trying to sell more than a specified number of copies. One paper allows the newsboys to purchase ten copies of the opposition sheet, and if any boy is found with more than this number for sale, a bully swoops down upon him, sometimes strikes him if the time and place are favorable, and the privilege of selling more editions of that paper is taken away. One afternoon recently the writer stood on one of the busiest corners in the downtown district and watched this warfare. Several boys were there, selling the final edition of one of the two rival newspapers. Suddenly a small band of young men, all negroes, appeared with copies of the other paper and instead of entering into fair competition with the boys, deliberately got in front of them and harassed them wherever they went, to prevent their making sales. They even drove away a crippled boy who had been hobbling around on crutches, trying to sell a few copies. They did not dare strike the boys, as the place was too public, but they succeeded in curtailing their sales. The circulation manager of one of these newspapers, when questioned regarding the matter, admitted that he had in his employ five bullies, but claimed he had been obliged to resort to such methods in self-defense, as the other paper had instituted the practice and employed a larger number. The circulation manager of the other paper, when asked about the matter, declared that those were conditions that obtained years ago and that nothing of the kind was done to-day. The effect of such treatment upon the developing minds of boys can well be imagined, and it is to be hoped that these newspapers will soon adopt a policy fairer to the boys and worthier of the journalistic profession.

Formerly every newsboy had a badge bearing a number, and his name and address were recorded in the newspaper office so that assistance could be rendered if necessary when a boy fell ill or met with accident or other misfortune, but the badges have been lost and the effort abandoned. The following statistics, covering four hun-

dred newsboys, it is believed fairly indicate the conditions surrounding the entire body of these little business men in Cincinnati:

Nationality.	
American, white	123
colored	116
German	86
Jewish	36
Irish	25
Italian	5
English	3
Dutch	3
Hungarian	2
Indian	1
Total	400

Age.	*No.*
7	3
8	10
9	21
10	36
11	49
12	79
13	63
14	52
15	26
16	21
17	16
18	9
19	6
20	4
Over 20	5
Total	400

Domestic Condition.	
Both parents living (including step-parents)	302
Father dead	59
Mother dead	22
Both parents dead	16
Married	1
Total	400

Education.	
Attending school	322
Not attending	78
Total	400

The minimum age limit at which a child may be employed legally in any gainful occupation in Ohio is fourteen, and in this connection it is interesting to note that of the four hundred newsboys, two hundred and sixty-one are under fourteen, and that the age at which the maximum number of boys engage in selling newspapers is twelve. This holds for both white and colored boys. Of the white newsboys, twelve per cent are not in school, but twelve of the number are over sixteen years of age, leaving only eight per cent of the entire number of white boys who are under sixteen and not in school. Of the colored boys, thirty-eight per cent are not in school, but twenty-eight of the number are over sixteen years of age, leaving fourteen per cent of the entire number of colored boys who are under sixteen and not attending school.

The number of orphans and half orphans among these children is far less than is generally supposed. But the presence of both parents in the home is not always a guarantee of happiness to the child. One little fellow said his brother and sister didn't stay at home, and he didn't know where they were. Another said his parents lived elsewhere, and that he had been left with relatives. In another case the parents had been separated and the children

were living with their mother in two rooms. One boy said his father had left home when he was a baby, and that he sold papers and helped at home. Another boy's father had run away six years ago and had never been heard from since. The father of one was in an asylum for the insane. In another case the boy's father had left home, the mother had married again and now conducts a saloon, the bartender being her second husband. One case was found where a family of five persons occupied two rooms; another where ten lived in four rooms; and another where seven were cooped up in three.

There are about ten thousand Italians in the city, the majority being Sicilians, and the average number of children in a family is four. The experience of workers among these people has shown that the Italians are much more careful of the welfare of their children, and especially of their daughters, than is generally supposed. They do not allow their girls to go to work anywhere unless two go together, and if there be no suitable companion the child must remain at home. Nearly half a century has elapsed since the city hospital was built, but in all that period, the records, it is said, show not a single Italian girl ever admitted into the ward where disreputable characters are treated. The Italians seldom if ever desert their children, but they have not yet learned that the school is a better training ground than the street.

Fruit Vending

Almost all the Italian children who work are engaged in fruit vending or basket selling. In a canvass of 77 Italian children, the distribution among various occupations was as follows:

Fruit venders	44	Bootblack	1
Basket sellers	13	Organ grinder	1
Newsboys	8	In shooting gallery	1
Delivery boys	3		—
Odd jobs	2	Total	77
Errand boys and girls	4		

Of this number, 55 were Sicilians, 15 Neapolitans, 5 Genoese, 1 Lombard and 1 Calabrese.

Of the 44 fruit venders, 24 were boys and 20 were girls; 41 were attending school and three were not; one was an orphan; the

average age was thirteen; the average daily amount of sales, $1.42; the average number of hours devoted daily to this work five, part of the time being before school but most of it after dismissal, the hours ranging from a minimum of three to a maximum of seven daily. The three children who were not attending school were aged respectively twelve, thirteen and fourteen years; the twelve-year-old boy was found to be working ten hours daily, in charge of a fruit stand in front of his father's store, his mother is demented, his father is old, the boy is the eldest child in the family and gives all his earnings to his parents. The thirteen-year-old boy was working with his father, pushing a fruit cart from eight to ten hours a day, but, as with practically all Italian children, he was not allowed to handle any money. The fourteen-year-old boy was found pushing a cart and tending a stand in market, working twelve hours a day, his sales amounting to $3.25 on an average; this boy maintains a family of five persons, his younger sister is blind and his father is dead.

The ages of these little fruit venders are as follows: Seven years, 1; 9 years, 2; 10 years, 3; 11 years, 1; 12 years, 14; 13 years, 20; 14 years, 3. Total, 44.

The majority of Italian children engaged in this line of work tend stands in front of their parents' stores, and when anyone stops to make a purchase, the father or mother is called to take the money. One ten-year-old boy works six hours daily in the market, part of the time before and part after school, there are six children in the family and one is a deaf mute. A thirteen-year-old boy works four hours out of school daily and eighteen hours on Saturday, tending a stand in front of his father's store and driving a fruit wagon. Another boy of the same age works seven hours daily besides attending school, and on Saturday he rises at five in the morning and retires at a half hour before midnight, his sales on this day amounting to three dollars. A little girl of eleven years tends a fruit stand five hours daily and also goes to school; she has two brothers over fifteen years of age who cannot read.

Other Trades

Of the thirteen basket sellers, nine were girls and four were boys. Their ages range from nine to thirteen years. All were Sicilians, there were no orphans among them, and all were attend-

ing school. Their average age is eleven, average daily amount of sales eighty-five cents, and average number of hours devoted daily to the work four, part of the time before and part after school. On Saturdays these children work in the market from fifteen to eighteen hours, their sales then amounting to about three dollars.

The errand boys and girls earn on an average thirty-four cents per day during an average time of three hours. Two do not attend school; one of these is a little Lombard girl of thirteen years whose parents are separated. The other is a Sicilian boy of fourteen years who is small for his age, has just withdrawn from school and works six hours daily, his father is insane and has five children. This little fellow is the eldest child, and is soon to take a position in a tailor's shop as an apprentice at a salary of $4.50 per week. The one organ grinder found is thirteen years old and works two hours before school and again after school and all day Saturday, usually collecting from $2.50 to $3.00 on the holiday. The attendant in a shooting gallery is a Genoese boy of twelve years who works four hours daily besides attending school, and on Saturday and Sunday gives all his time to helping at this business, taking in as much money as his father does.

A little boy eleven years old was found who earned about three dollars a week working at anything he could find; there are five children in the family, the father is dead and the mother cannot speak English; this little boy attends school and works five hours daily.

Messenger Boys

The messenger boys are in the employ of the two telegraph companies and the postmaster. The Western Union boys in Cincinnati number 100, their ages range from fourteen to twenty years, the majority being over sixteen. All are white and many different nationalities are represented among them. There is a day and a night force, those on the latter work nine hours and are over sixteen years of age as required by law. Some of the boys on the day force take courses at night at the Young Men's Christian Association. The night boys are paid a regular salary of $20 per month, the day boys are paid according to the piece plan and earn from $15 to $35 per month, the amount depending upon the individual and the energy put into the work. Caps are furnished by

the company, but the boys purchase their own uniforms, paying for them on the instalment plan, the company claiming that the boys take much better care of them when the transaction is made on a value received basis.

The American District Telegraph boys number 60 in this city. Their ages range from fourteen to nineteen years, the majority of them being fifteen and sixteen years old. The average number of hours the boys work during the day is seven, and they are paid according to the piece plan. The night force numbers six; they are all over sixteen years of age and work seven hours. American, German, Irish, Roumanian, Russian, Canadian, Jew and several other nationalities are represented. All are white boys and all have homes of some description. It is an interesting fact that in the company's experience the employees who came from boys' homes all were troublesome and had to be dismissed, while those who came from the House of Refuge and others recommended by the juvenile court were found to be good and reliable. These boys have caps and badges but no uniforms; they pay for their caps and the sense of real ownership tends to make the boys take better care of them. The American District Telegraph boys are paid every two weeks, the largest amount of earnings on record for this period being $19 and the average being $10, or $20 per month. Frequently from eight to ten high school boys are employed on Saturdays and Sundays in place of regular boys, who thus get a holiday.

When either company is charged with the delivery of a message or a package to a house whose character is known or believed to be questionable, one of the older boys is detailed to carry it, but it often happens that a call for a messenger is received from a hotel or a drug store, and the company supplying the boy is ignorant of the destination of the message or package to be delivered until the boy returns to the office and reports. In many such cases the messenger is sent to a house of ill fame. The law forbids a boy to enter such a place, and he is ordered to deliver his message at the door and then leave, but nevertheless such a situation is full of peril for him.

Other temptations assail the messenger boy in his work, and are frequently yielded to. The old practice of raising the amount of charges on the envelope of a telegram is notorious, and is still an ever-present problem to the companies. When a boy has been detected in this petty crime and is questioned about it, he too often

adds to the one misdeed the other and equally grievous one of lying. Then he is dismissed and the odds against his recovery of good standing and self-respect are heavy indeed.

The postmaster of Cincinnati employs forty boys as special delivery messengers. They are not under the rules of the civil service, and their only duty is to deliver letters bearing the special delivery stamp. They are from fifteen to twenty years of age, most of them being seventeen years old. Nearly all are Americans and Germans; eight are colored. One requirement for appointment is that the applicant must have a home, consequently the domestic conditions surrounding these boys are, as a rule, good. Each boy is paid eight cents for the delivery of every letter, and his average monthly earnings amount to $24. At the city post office there are thirteen boys on the day force and their hours are continuous from seven in the morning to three in the afternoon. They either bring their lunches with them or are allowed a few minutes, usually ten, in which to get something to eat at a nearby restaurant. The night force also numbers thirteen, and the hours are from three in the afternoon to eleven at night; the same arrangement as to food applies to this force. The other fourteen boys are employed at the substations, their hours being from seven in the morning to six in the evening, with two hours off for lunch, and several intermissions occurring at intervals amount in all to one hour, making the actual working time eight hours. Three of these boys are taking correspondence courses.

Investigation into the cases of forty-one delivery boys revealed the following conditions:

Age.	
9 years	1
10 years	2
11 years	2
12 years	7
13 years	8
14 years	6
15 years	7
16 years	7
17 years	1
Total	41

Nationality.	
American	24
German	11
Italian	3
Irish	2
Hungarian	1
Total	41

Education.	
Attending school	25
Not attending	16
Total	41

These boys are engaged in going about the city on foot, on street cars and wagons, delivering goods for department stores, millinery establishments, jewelry stores, grocers, florists' shops, tailor shops and shoe stores. Many deliver newspapers and periodicals to regular subscribers, and receive regular pay from the men who control routes. Their earnings range from sixty cents to $5.00 per week, those who attend school working on an average two and one-half hours daily and making $1.90 per week; those who do not attend school work on an average ten hours daily and earn $3.95 per week. The earnings of those who attend school amount, in proportion to the time devoted to the work, to nearly twice as much as the earnings of those who are out of school. Some are paid at the rate of 10 cents per trip or per bundle delivered, others by the day, but the majority of the regular employees receive their wages at the end of the week. One jeweler employs a boy of fifteen years ten hours a day, pays him $5 a week and fines him whenever he is late in delivering parcels. Those employed on delivery wagons work from ten to twelve hours daily and on Saturday until nine or ten o'clock at night. The handling of heavy packages is a real hardship for some of these boys; take, for instance, a thirteen-year-old lad who carries large bundles of paper for a wholesale paper house from one building to another after school hours, work which can hardly be termed "healthful exercise"! Several twelve-year-old boys receive $2.50 each for working four hours daily after school and on Saturday, carrying heavy bundles of clothing from tailor shops to finishers, deprived of almost every joy of childhood and forced within the narrow confines of premature labor by their ignorant and greedy parents.

Cincinnati's public school system includes a school for truants, to which are sent boys charged with truancy, incorrigibility or "non-adjustability." About forty thousand children are enrolled in the public schools of the city, while the enrolment in the school for truants is thirty-three. The school was opened for the first time in September, 1907; it contains a gymnasium, baths, a woodworking room and recitation rooms. A dormitory accommodating ten boys has just been added to the other features of this school. In this institution efforts are made on humanitarian principles to bring these boys to a proper realization of the possibilities involved in their behavior and to inspire in them some degree of ambition

toward worthy citizenship. Under the old system, many of these boys would have been lodged in jail; now they are given another chance in a better environment to learn their duty to society.

The law in Ohio provides that no child under fourteen years of age shall be employed in any gainful occupation; that children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, before securing employment, shall obtain from school superintendents certificates to the effect that they have successfully completed seven specified studies of the primary course, after having presented documentary evidence of age, or if unable to read and write English they may not be employed unless they attend day or night school during employment; and that no boy under sixteen or girl under eighteen shall be employed in any gainful occupation more than eight hours a day before six o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening. The eight-hour provision will take effect July 1, 1908.

All this is good, but it is not enough. Some method must be found to apply this law practicably to the street trades of the large cities. Complete protection must be afforded every child under fourteen years of age. Even so, we cannot grant that society has fulfilled its entire obligation. Children fourteen and fifteen years of age are too young and undeveloped to take up such burdens of life, and may the day soon come when the minimum age limit for employment in gainful occupations shall be raised from fourteen to sixteen and the state make all necessary provision for the care of the few children who would otherwise be forced into premature toil because of their unfortunate circumstances.

Reports from State and Local Child Labor Committees

REPORT FROM CITIZENS' CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The agitation to secure the enactment of a child labor law for the District of Columbia has as yet produced no tangible results. A bill for the regulation of child labor was introduced at the last session of Congress, and was under consideration at the time of the last annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. This bill was finally talked to death by its opponents, and the session closed with the District of Columbia still retaining its unenviable distinction of being one of the few jurisdictions in the United States without any law for the regulation of child labor.

Early in the present session of Congress the bill advocated at the last session was again introduced into both Houses. No action has as yet been taken by the House of Representatives. In the Senate, Mr. Dolliver, chairman of the committee on education and labor, has made a favorable report on the measure, and it is at present the unfinished business on the Senate calendar. Consideration of the bill has already been twice postponed in order to enable Senator Beveridge to introduce an amendment providing for the national regulation of child labor. This complication of a local problem with a national issue was responsible for much of the delay which resulted in the failure of the local measure at the last session. The local committee's hope that each measure might be considered independently will apparently not be realized.[1]

During the past twelve months, three well attended public meetings on the subject of child labor have been held; the first under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Club; the second under the auspices of the Federation of Women's Clubs and the third under the auspices of the local patriotic societies of women. In addition, several meetings of smaller organizations have been held, in all of which an active interest was shown. Newspaper editorials and discussions of local conditions have appeared frequently and have been sucessful in directing attention to the needs of the capital city in this connection.

HENRY J. HARRIS,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS

The main practical work of the Consumers' League of Illinois for the year 1907 has consisted in its co-operation with the state in enforcing the child labor law. After the law was enacted, regular investigations were

[1]The District of Columbia Child Labor Bill finally passed both Houses and was approved May 28, 1908.

made at a holiday period and at the opening of school, to learn how thorough was the enforcement and the effect of the law on attendance at school.

Much financial support has been given in employing attendants to watch and bridge over certain loopholes in the law, without which its effectiveness would have been greatly hindered; such as the year's experiment of employing the attendant for the central office representing the parochial schools, after which it was taken by the Catholic church and is now a regular part of the law's enforcement in Chicago.

The establishment of this central office was a provision of the original bill, but the bill was weakened in the committee room in Springfield by an amendment which made it possible for the principal of each school to issue certificates, thereby losing uniformity in the enforcement of the law, as well as the possibility of collecting valuable data and experience. In order to test the efficacy of enforcement, more than fifty public and parochial schools were visited in the industrial districts. The results of these investigations furnished data for conferences which were held with the public school authorities and with Archbishop Quigley. These conferences resulted in the establishment of a central office, with two representatives, one for the public schools and one for the Catholic parochial schools.

To this office the children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, who wish to go to work, are now required to come with their parents, bringing their school record; here they are tested as to their ability to read and write. The parent's affidavit is taken and the final age and school certificate given to the child. The records concerning each child are carefully filed. These records in certain cases may prove valuable to the State Factory Inspector, and are also open for legitimate public use and inspection.

For over three years the secretary of the League has investigated the ages of all children applying to the county court for working certificates, and the court has acted upon the recommendation of the secretary in giving or withholding the required certificate.

Without this work of the secretary of the League, the part of the child labor law which concerns mostly the children of foreigners, our poorest people, would be practically ineffective, for the law does not provide any way of learning the facts regarding the ages of these children.

The secretary has regular office hours at the central office of the Bureau of Charities in the city, where, if the proof of the age of the child is easily obtainable, the recommendation may be secured; but generally it is necessary for her to visit the house of the child, and often to write to some other city or state, or foreign country; to visit the school where the child attended, and look up all records or facts obtainable, until she is convinced and feels competent to recommend or not recommend the certificate. During July and August of this year seventy-five such children were referred to her for investigation.

Glass manufacturers are proverbially open opponents of child labor legislation, and also persistent violators of laws when secured in spite of their opposition. The Alton Glass Works has long been a center of interest to those opposing child labor in Illinois. The place has been repeatedly visited

by the secretary of the League, and publicity given to conditions found. These facts were learned, not at the factory, where of late she has been refused admittance, but in the homes of the children who work in the factory and by talking with laboring people of Alton. At the time of the last visit, the secretary was accompanied by a member of the board of the Consumers' League, Mrs. Mather Smith, and also by a photographer. A change for the better was very apparent; very few small children were found, and the belief was general that the laws were much better obeyed than formerly. This was largely due to the fact that the chief factory inspector had stationed a deputy in Alton for several weeks.

At the Industrial Exhibit, held in Chicago in March, 1907, one of the largest exhibits was under the care of the Consumers' League. One booth showed the nut-picking industry in the home. Charts and pictures of children in various industries, showed their size and conditions of employment. One exhibit brought out the contrast of work of educational value, which children may do, and the mechanical and monotonous work so many are doing without an element of education. The one was shown by working students from the normal school, the other by children from one of the box factories making boxes.

At the time "Peter Pan" was presented in Chicago, the board of the Consumers' League, at the suggestion and with the co-operation of Mr. Davies, the factory inspector, was able to influence the management of the theatrical company to substitute children over sixteen for the younger ones brought from New York to take part in the play.

On July 1, 1908, the present child labor law of Illinois will have been in effect five years. From the reports of the central office, the factory inspectors and the court, it is learned that one of the most important defects in the Illinois law is its educational test, which simply requires a child to read and write simple sentences in any language. The records of 1906 and 1907 from the central office show that from the *public schools alone 1,467* children were given working certificates from the *fourth, third, second* and *first grades.*

Children who come through the county court sometimes receive certificates. Although they cannot read, write or understand a word of English, the law entitles them to certificates.

A weak point in our situation is that children presumably of sixteen are not required to prove their age. The result is that, in spite of care on the part of factory inspectors, children of fifteen and even younger are working, claiming that they are sixteen. These children, of course, do not secure papers in the regular way, as they claim to be sixteen, but where any question is raised on the part of the employer they can get an affidavit through some notary without proof.

The report from the central office for the public schools, for the year ended July 1, 1907, shows that 11,681 age and schooling certificates were issued to children ranging in age from fourteen years to fifteen years and eleven months.

The report further shows that 10,388 of these certificates were issued

to American children and 1,293 to foreign children representing twenty-six nationalities. The nationalities that predominate in this list are in the following order: Russian, Italian, German, Bohemian, Austro-Hungarian.

The following table shows the grades of children receiving age and school certificates:

Grade.	*Male.*	*Female.*	*Total.*
First	8	8	16
Second	68	43	111
Third	229	103	332
Fourth	652	350	1,002
Fifth	1,241	676	1,917
Sixth	1,609	787	2,396
Seventh	1,386	760	2,146
Eighth	1,901	1,055	2,956
Ninth	269	115	384
Tenth	50	22	72
Eleventh	4	3	7
Twelfth	1	0	1
Unclassified and Evening	236	105	341
Total	7,654	4,027	11,681

HARRIET M. VAN DER VAART,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE KENTUCKY CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION

The Kentucky Child Labor Association was organized December 12, 1906, and was incorporated February, 1907. One thousand copies of the child labor law of 1906 were printed and distributed to the newspapers, presidents of county medical societies and county judges in the one hundred and nineteen counties of the state. This old law was, however, inadequate. Children under fourteen could work if the judge could be made to believe that "there was no other means of support," and only an affidavit, sworn to before any notary, was necessary to secure employment for a child claiming to be between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

The chief work of the Kentucky Child Labor Association was, therefore, to obtain a better law. The investigations of the Kentucky Consumers' League, which had been conducted under the direction of Miss Frances Ingram, of Louisville, were taken as a basis for the needed legislation. The Consumers' League has for eight years been engaged in enforcing the child labor and compulsory education laws, and, since the establishment of the juvenile court, has assisted in investigating those cases which come to the court with requests for working papers for children under fourteen. The Child Labor Association had, therefore, but to turn to the Consumers' League to find that in Louisville alone 438 applications for these permits had been made to the court during the past year, and that the amazingly

large number of 301 had been granted; that the League had established a scholarship fund and kept fifteen children at school on it during the year; and that it was conjectured from the appearance of the children seen at work in factories and elsewhere, that there are thousands of children in Kentucky employed under the age of fourteen on perjured affidavits.

Following is a synopsis of a child labor bill which the Child Labor Association thereupon drafted for the State of Kentucky;

EMPLOYMENTS PROHIBITED.

Section One.—*Children under fourteen not to be employed:*

(A) Under any circumstances during school time;

(B) Nor at any time in, nor in connection with, any factory, workshop, mine, mercantile establishment, store, business office, telegraph office, restaurant, hotel, apartment house or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages.

Section Two.—Children between *fourteen and sixteen* not to be employed in any factory, workshop, mine, or mercantile establishment without an employment certificate.

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATES.

Section Three.—Employment certificates to be issued by school authorities (superintendent, if any).

HOW OBTAINED.

Sections Four and Six.—Preliminaries to issuance of employment certificate are:

1. Proof of age (*i. e.,* proof of date and place of birth).

2. Filing of "school record;" *i. e.,* a certificate from the principal of the school last attended that the child has been at school for one hundred days in year next before reaching fourteen, or next before the application for the employment certificate; that he can read and write simple English sentences, and that he has had instruction in geography and the simple parts in arithmetic (*i. e., through common fractions*). If school record is not obtainable, an examination on these points may take its place.

CONTENTS.

Section Five.—Employment certificates shall state:—

1. Date and place of birth of child.

2. Color of hair and eyes, height and weight.

3. And that the required preliminaries (Sections 4 and 6) have been observed.

RECORD.

Section Seven.—School Board to furnish labor inspector monthly with list of certificates issued.

HOURS OF WORK.

Section Eight.—(A) Children *under sixteen* not to work longer than ten hours a day, nor longer than sixty hours a week.

(B) Hours of work, for such persons, to begin not sooner than 7 a. m. nor to continue later than 7 p. m.

(C) In retail stores only, while the hours per week are limited to sixty, the hours for a single day may be twelve and work until 10 p. m. is permitted (in such stores) on Saturday only.

(D) Printed notice of hours of labor to be conspicuously posted.

PENALTIES.

Sections Nine and Eighteen.

I. Against Employers.

(A) For employing a child in violation of this act, from $25.00 to $50.00 for first offence.

(B) *For each subsequent offence,* imprisonment from 10 to 90 days or fine from $50.00 to $200.00, or both.

(C) For continuing an illegal employment after notice from truant officer or labor inspector, from $5.00 to $20.00 fine.

(D) For failure to surrender certificates when demanded, $10.00 fine.

II. Against Officer Issuing Certificate.

For false statement in certificate, $10.00 to $100.00 fine.

VISITATION.

Section Ten.—The right of visitation given truant officers and labor inspector.

SANITARY REGULATIONS.

Section Eleven.—Certain employments, dangerous to health or life, forbidden to children under sixteen.

Sections Twelve, Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen.—These contain sanitary regulations for establishments where children under sixteen are employed.

PROSECUTIONS.

Section Sixteen.—Inquisitorial powers for investigating violations of this act given to grand juries, county and circuit judges.

Section Seventeen.—Copy of this act to be conspicuously posted.

WHEN THE ACT BECOMES EFFECTIVE.

Section Nineteen.—September 1, 1908. Act then to go into effect; *except,* that the requirement of a "school record," or in default thereof an examination, shall not be effective until September 1, 1909.

Note.—These provisions meet two predicted difficulties:

First.—The postponement to September 1, 1908, gives ample opportunity

for obtaining employment certificates for the numerous children between fourteen and sixteen now employed.

Second.—The postponement to September 1, 1908, of the operation of the educational test gives ample warning to all proposing to enter employments at the age of fourteen or fifteen that they must prepare themselves for that test; and it avoids the unnecessary harshness of suddenly requiring of children now at work a fitness not formerly demanded, and perhaps beyond their power to obtain without unreasonable sacrifice and hardship.

The effect of these provisions is that after September 1, 1909, the act will be in full operation.

Section Twenty.—Repealing clause.

This measure was presented to the 1908 General Assembly and passed. It will not be in full operation until September, 1909, because it was thought wise to get the families slowly in readiness for the enforcement of the educational qualifications; but the main feature of the law, that is, the certificates of age required of children between fourteen and sixteen, will go into effect in ninety days. The Child Labor Association and the Consumers' League will combine forces to prevent, so far as possible, unnecessary suffering contingent upon such a change as this law will cause.

ANNIE A. HALLECK,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE MARYLAND CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The Maryland Child Labor Committee, while not entirely inactive during the past year, has not done much that can be covered in a report. For a short time a special investigator was employed to look into conditions in the canneries of the state, but another bad season failed to develop anything more definite than the investigation of the year previous.

No effort was made during the past winter to secure additional legislation, as it was deemed wiser to try to secure the enforcement of existing laws. After this decision was reached, the Child Labor Committee, as such, took no further action. A conference of varied interests was called together, and this group of people made an earnest effort to secure the reorganization of the Bureau of Statistics and Information, which is charged with enforcing child labor laws and other factory legislation. The conference went to Annapolis in a body and waited upon the Governor, urging the necessity for appointing a chief of the bureau for other than party reasons, and insisting upon the principle of efficiency and a constructive grasp of the problems confronting the bureau. The only apparent effect was that the Governor caused a private investigation of the bureau to be made and then requested the resignation of the assistant chief of the bureau; the former chief, who is the chairman of the central committee of his party in Baltimore County, was reappointed, and the Governor recommended the appointment of the leader of his party in Frederick

County to the position of assistant chief, which appointment was subsequently made.

The Maryland Committee is now going through a stage of reorganization, with a view to strengthening its force, and it is probable that a paid secretary will soon be employed.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

As in 1906, the Federated Charities of Baltimore raised and disbursed all funds for scholarships or school pensions for children in the city, and the State Committee investigated all applications for scholarships in the counties. During the year the Federated Charities received sixty-eight applications, finding actual need in twenty-two cases, granting scholarships in ten and securing other relief in twelve. A total of $1,160.95 was disbursed in amounts averaging $2.50 per week per child, to children between twelve and sixteen years who were physically undeveloped or illiterate and so could not secure a working permit, and where such children's earnings were a necessary part of the family's income.

The State Committee received eleven applications in behalf of children in the counties, but upon investigation found scholarships could not be granted or were not needed in any one case. Other relief was found necessary in two instances and was secured through a local charity organization society.

H. WIRT STEELE,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOR AND LEGISLATION OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF MASSACHUSETTS

For the Industrial Exhibit held at Horticultural Hall early in April in Boston, this Committee prepared three illustrated charts. One chart was a statement of the number of children in the City of Boston to whom working certificates were granted by the school authorities in 1906. The number was 4,240 and the chart showed the age of the child, its sex, nationality and the grade from which it left school to enter a working life.

The second chart gave the number of children under sixteen employed in the State of Massachusetts according to the census of 1905. The number of children was 22,389. The number in each industry was also shown. A third chart indicated the effects of the law usually called the "illiteracy law," which went into operation in January, 1906. Reports from school superintendents in the five largest textile cities showed a decrease in that year of the number of certificates granted children between fourteen and sixteen, because of the requirements of this law.

Early in November, 1907, our Committee invited to a conference with Mrs. Florence Kelley representatives of twenty-five or more societies interested in the suppression of child labor.

Mrs. Kelley showed that Massachusetts is now behind other states,

notably Illinois and New York, in child labor legislation, and urged us to remedy this by introducing three bills at the coming Legislature. A subcommittee was appointed by this conference, called the Joint Child Labor Committee. On this Committee were Miss Edith Howes, Chairman; Miss Mabel Parton, of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union; Howard W. Brown, Meyer Bloomfield, of the Civic Service House, and Mr. Hartman of the Civic League, with Miss Charlotte Price as Secretary. They prepared and introduced into the Legislature of 1907-08 two bills, House Bill 396 and Senate Bill 172. The former provided that no one should employ a child under the age of sixteen more than eight hours a day, or between the hours of seven p. m. and six a. m. This bill has not been reported yet, but there is every reason to suppose that it will be reported favorably. The latter, Senate Bill 172, provided that no person should approve the age and schooling certificate required for a working child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, until he procured from the physician, provided for in the bill, a health certificate stating that the child had been examined by him, and, in his opinion, had reached the normal development for a child of its age, was in sound health and was physically able to perform the work it intended to undertake. The school physician was authorized to furnish such certificates, or in cities or towns where no school physician had been appointed, or where there was a vacancy in this office, a physician to be appointed by the board of health.

This bill unfortunately met with opposition on the part of certain members of the Committee of the General Court, before which it was heard, and they refused to allow it to be reported without certain amendments, one of which, in regard to the physicians who should furnish such certificates, rendered it practically worthless. As the machinery for making a successful fight in the house against this amendment was not available at this time, it was regretfully decided to withdraw the bill until the next General Court. There is reason to hope that at that time, with stronger support on the part of the public, the matter may be brought to a successful issue.

Miss C. H. Price,
Corresponding Secretary, Consumers' League.

REPORT OF THE MAINE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The campaign for better regulation of child labor in Maine was started by the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs in January, 1905. At that time no effort was made to investigate or suppress the conditions existing. The Education Committee of the Federation appealed to the Governor to appoint a woman as factory inspector, whereupon the Governor promised to appoint a man who should do the work satisfactorily, and, failing in this, that he would appoint a woman. George Morrison, of Saco, was appointed to the position and has given satisfactory proof that the laws can be enforced.

The club women joined forces with Mr. Morrison. An aggressive campaign for new and better laws was begun, to prepare for the Legislature which would convene at the end of the year. The compulsory school law requires every child to attend school until sixteen years of age, except during vacation, unless excused by the school authorities. A thorough investigation was made throughout the state and a large number of children found at work who should have been at school. The school authorities, both state and local, were at once interested and proved strong factors in the legislative work.

The labor laws were weak, the age limit being twelve years and the certificate of age permitting the unsupported signature of parent or guardian as proof of the child's age. The first step was to raise the age limit from twelve to fourteen years and to require a certificate giving stronger proof of age. Great activity and enthusiasm were shown in the education of public sentiment in favor of these amendments. The bill, which was presented to the legislature by Inspector Morrison, had the endorsement of Governor Cobb, the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, the various school officials and prominent people throughout the state. It seemed probable at first that the bill would pass in the form presented, but the sardine canning industries prevailed and succeeded in exempting their interests during the summer months—the season of their greatest rush. With the exception of this clause, the bill was passed as presented, and the law became effective the following September. The factory inspector began active work and has taken practically all the children out of the manufacturing establishments in the state.

In May, 1907, the State Child Labor Committee was organized to look after the interests of the children; to strengthen the activities of the inspector and to determine what improvements were needed in the law. Some of the most prominent people in the state constitute this committee, among whom are the State Superintendent of Schools and the Commissioner of Industry and Labor Statistics. Both these officials have been of great assistance in the campaigns.

There is no longer need for convincing people of the necessity of laws to protect children; but our great need is better and more effective laws to protect children from all commercialism. Our mercantile establishments need inspection; night work should be prohibited, and the street trades regulated. At present there are very few children employed along these lines, but "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and laws to regulate these employments will be more easily secured now than later. Our work with the Legislature of 1908 will probably cover these points. In the meantime, we are quietly investigating and compiling facts for future use. With the great interest shown by the whole country in this problem, it would seem easy to influence legislation. Let us be hopeful.

MRS. ELLA JORDAN MASON,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE MICHIGAN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The child labor situation of Michigan is by no means as serious as that in other states, and the Michigan Child Labor Committee, since its organization has not entered upon an aggressive campaign. An effort will be made, however, for greater activity during the next legislative session and it is hoped that preventive measures, now being considered, will be passed successfully.

FRANK T. CARLTON,
Secretary.

REPORT FROM THE CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE OF MISSOURI

Prof. Edgar James Swift, Secretary of the Children's Protective Alliance of Missouri, reports that a synopsis of the child labor and compulsory education laws of Missouri, as amended and in force July 1, 1907, has been prepared by a lawyer and published by the Alliance in an eight-page leaflet. There is also appended to this synopsis a statement of the measures advocated by the Alliance:

1st. The simplification and codification of all child labor laws in Missouri.

2d. The extension of the prohibition of child labor throughout the whole state.

3d. Placing the factory inspector on a salary basis, with sufficient appropriation for effective inspection, instead of the present system of fees.

It is purposed to distribute this leaflet widely throughout the state. Copies will be cheerfully furnished upon application to the Secretary at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

REPORT OF THE NEBRASKA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 1, 1908

Organization of this Committee, consisting of forty-five representative Nebraskans, was had February 27, 1907. Three general meetings of the Committee have been held and the executive committee also met twice. The legislature was in session at the time of the organization of the Committee and its first work was to secure the passage of the law then being considered. Hard and persistent work was done by many of the members of the Committee, and the result secured in the passage and signing of our admirable bill was in no small measure due to their fidelity and to the existence of the Committee, which was called into being at the instance of the National Child Labor Committee. The influence of the Committee was exerted toward and secured the appointment of three of their number as members of the Board of Voluntary Inspectors provided for under the law, and it is to the great credit of the Committee that their administration has

been sane, firm and effective and has resulted in winning the confidence and respect of the employers generally. Rev. James Wise, a member of this Committee, was appointed Chairman of the Board of Inspectors by the Governor, and has won friends for the law in every direction. The Board has made 125 official visits during the year, which it is estimated have resulted in the return of about 1,500 children to school. At the time of the passage of the law there were about 3,000 manufacturing establishments in the state, and about 50 per cent of all the working places were concerned with the matter of child labor. At that time about 17.5 per cent of the boys of the state were employed and about 3.8 per cent of the girls of the state were at work, in all representing about 20,000 children under fifteen years of age who might properly be called breadwinners.

The present attitude of the employers is that of endorsement, and there is practically no antagonism. The Chairman of the State Board of Inspectors, Mr. Wise, and the Labor Commissioner, Hon. J. J. Ryder, unite in bearing this testimony. The Labor Commissioner says that this law is better enforced than the law governing fire-escapes or that concerning the employment of women.

One of the chief difficulties just now concerns Lincoln more especially, namely, the taking of about 200 Russian children out of school before the end of the term and sending them to the beet fields of Colorado. Mr. Ryder is at work on this problem and it is hoped will be able to find a solution.

The State Committee has contributed $10.00 toward the incidental expenses of the Chairman of the Board of Inspectors. Invaluable assistance has been rendered by the women's clubs and the Labor Commissioner. The outlook is bright and careful attention will be given by the State Committee to prevent the mutilation of the law on the convening of the legislature.

Respectfully submitted,

STEPHEN P. MORRIS,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE NEW YORK CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

In view of the fact that the New York Child Labor Committee—the first committee of the kind in the United States with a salaried working force—has just completed five years of active service, it may not be inappropriate at this time to mention briefly some of the things it has accomplished during this period. The most noteworthy accomplishment has been the raising of the standard of the statutes affecting working children. In 1903 hundreds of children in New York State eleven, twelve and thirteen years of age, were at work because the law accepted from their parents false affidavits that they were fourteen. Now only documentary evidence, such as the birth certificate, baptismal certificate, passport, etc., can be accepted. Messenger, telegraph, office and delivery boys, and boys engaged in the sale of newspapers, magazines or periodicals—children formerly receiving no protection from the law—are now under its provisions. Evasion of the law by scores of manufacturers who employed children upon affi-

davits alleging them to be sixteen years of age and over, when frequently two to four years younger, has been largely obviated by an amendment to the law which requires employers on demand to produce documentary evidence that children claiming to be sixteen years of age or over are actually that age. Hours of employment have been reduced from ten hours to eight in factories and to nine in mercantile establishments, and overtime work for children is no longer permitted by law. Work in factories must now cease at five p. m. instead of nine o'clock as formerly, and in stores the closing hour is seven p. m. in New York, Buffalo and Rochester, and elsewhere at ten p. m.

The Committee fully realizes that child labor laws, even the best ones, are not self-enforcing, and has therefore bent its energies during these years to co-operate with the officials responsible for their enforcement. Reference was made in the report of the New York Committee at the Cincinnati meeting, December, 1906, to the marked improvement in the enforcement of the law regarding factories by the State Department of Labor. This progress, it is gratifying to report, has continued, and there is every reason to believe that Commissioner John Williams, the successor to former Commissioner P. Tecumseh Sherman, who resigned in the fall of 1907 as head of the department, will vigorously enforce the provisions of the labor law, particularly those affecting the employment of children. The enforcement of the law relative to children working in mercantile establishments has not received, in the opinion of the Committee, anything like proper attention, by reason of the fact that this responsibility is placed upon the local health boards. The Committee is convinced that the transfer of this authority to the State Department of Labor is the only method whereby an adequate enforcement of this law can be secured.

In order to strengthen certain weak points in the law as it then stood, and to raise the standard in other particulars, the Committee conducted an active legislative campaign during the 1907 legislature. As a result, New York State has now upon its statutes a law limiting employment of children in factories to eight hours a day, not before eight in the morning or after five in the afternoon. In order to bring about a better enforcement of the so-called Newsboy Law, it was amended to place the responsibility of enforcement in the hands of the school authorities as well as the police. Other amendments were secured, strengthening the Compulsory Education Law and making more definite the evidence of age features of the provisions regarding the issuance of employment certificates.

In line with the policy of the Committee, it has co-operated in several important investigations. The most important was an investigation, entered into jointly by several organizations, of the employment of children in tenement homes in New York City. This investigation, while disclosing no great amount of new material, was important in securing confirmation of facts regarding conditions of children so employed already fairly well known by social workers. A carefully prepared report of this investigation was recently published in *Charities and the Commons,* and can be secured upon application to the National Consumers' League. The investigation, although covering but a few blocks, shows strongly the need of securing

protection of the law for these child workers. The organizations interested have not yet reached a decision as to the best plan to adopt to put an end to the bad conditions now surrounding work in the home tenements.

The Committee has continued the plan commenced in 1905 of awarding "scholarships" to children in instances where a careful home investigation substantiates the claim that the earnings of the children are needed for the family's support. Much time and effort have been devoted to this phase of our work, and a paid visitor has been employed who devotes her entire services to home and school visits and the many other details involved. The policy of the Committee to limit the scholarships only to such children in whose cases it has been clearly shown the law's enforcement is solely responsible for whatever hardship might be caused by depriving the family of the child's earnings, has been closely followed. Where it is found that the need for sending the child to work illegally is the result of non-employment on the part of an able-bodied father, or intemperance, or some other cause entirely outside of the child's relation to the family, scholarship assistance is not given, but the attention of the proper society is called to the needs of the family. The same procedure in the conduct of this work has been followed since the establishment of scholarships by our Committee. As this work has been described in detail in a little pamphlet entitled "Poverty and Child Labor," issued by the National Child Labor Committee, further particulars will be omitted from this report. The recent statistics regarding scholarships, however, may be of interest. Since the beginning of the plan a few over 900 applications for scholarships have been received, chiefly through school principals. Of this number 196 received scholarship assistance. During the year ending October 1st, 1906 (the first year of the plan), $2,400 was expended for scholarships. For the following year the cost was $4,300, and for the six months of the present year a little under $2,000 has been expended. It should be clearly understood that of the approximately 700 applications which were not granted scholarships, a considerable number of these represented families needing assistance, but as such help did not come within the scope of our scholarship fund it was secured from other sources. The plan continues to receive the cordial co-operation of school authorities, and seems to be greatly appreciated by them. The money for this work was first contributed entirely by a member of the New York Committee. As the demands upon the fund have increased the additional money required has been given by individuals, church and settlement clubs and other interested groups of people.

The somewhat rigid requirements in our state with respect to the filing of documentary evidence of age in order to secure an employment certificate, as might be expected, has caused considerable antagonism to the law. School authorities, church workers, and also settlement and relief society workers in many instances, felt that these provisions of the law were unnecessarily harsh and put the parents, especially the ignorant and foreign ones, to an unreasonable amount of trouble. It was thought by the Committee that much of this feeling of antagonism could be obviated by having in attendance at the office where working papers are issued a person to assist the

parents by explaining the requirements of the law, particularly the procedure in securing the necessary evidence of age, and in general to disentangle the many snarls and help the children out of their difficulties. In September, 1907, the Committee therefore secured permission to establish a paid agent in the Manhattan office of the health department to assist the parents in the manner indicated. After six months' trial it is believed that plan has been fully justified by the results accomplished. School officials, instead of having to give under protest their valuable time in instructing the children on these points, are now glad to avail themselves of the assistance rendered by our agent, who through her experience and the information at her command is better fitted to advise the children. It has been possible to establish such cordial relations with the officers in charge of issuing certificates, that in minor matters improvements in the conduct of the work have been adopted at the suggestion of our agent. By the constant presence of such a representative, the Committee is able to appreciate better the difficulties of the work, to learn more readily how the law can be improved, and to obtain valuable information not otherwise readily securable regarding the actual enforcement of this feature of the law. So valuable an adjunct to the office has the agent become that a movement is already on foot to establish a similar agency in the Brooklyn office. It is expected when the value of the plan has been conclusively demonstrated, that the Committee will recommend to the proper city authorities that the position be made a municipal one.

During the summer of 1907 an extensive and thorough investigation was conducted regarding the employment of women and children in the canning establishments of the central and western parts of our state. This investigation was not made under the auspices of our Committee, but the results have been placed at the disposal of a number of organizations interested, including the New York Committee. The report of the investigation reveals very serious evils, particularly the employment of children in the sheds from four years of age and upwards, in many instances from early morning until late at night—sometimes until after midnight—and the employment of women workers for six and eight weeks at a stretch for seventy-five and eighty hours a week, exceeding the legal weekly restriction by fifteen to twenty hours. The report and other data upon the subject have been placed in the hands of the Governor, and his decision is now awaited before steps shall be taken towards remedying the evils either by legislation or through the courts by means of prosecutions to be instituted by the Department of Labor.

The legislative program of the Committee this season is smaller than usual, being limited to a bill to transfer the inspection of mercantile establishments to the State Department of Labor. This bill has passed the Assembly and is now pending before the Senate Committee.[1] It is hoped that the bill will ultimately pass, although every effort is being made by the merchants of New York City to defeat the measure.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE A. HALL, *Secretary.*

[1]Passed Senate June 10, signed by the Governor June 12, 1908.

REPORT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

While the conditions with respect to child labor in North Carolina factories are not yet ideal, one has but to glance backward at the steady growth of public sentiment and legal restriction during the past five years to see that the progress has been all that could reasonably have been expected. Until two years ago the legislation secured was the result of the strong, general sentiment of the people, acting through no organized body, but yet so definite and positive a force as to make legislators and manufacturers respect and heed it.

Two years ago, however, a strong Child Labor Committee, consisting of some of the state's ablest public men in sympathy with our cause, was organized. Bishop Cheshire, of the Episcopal Church, was chosen Chairman, the writer was selected as Vice-Chairman and Prof. C. L. Coon, Secretary.

Mapping out a plan for strengthening the then existing child labor laws, letters were sent to the leading papers of the state, and, acting on the sound theory that we can have no more useful allies than public-spirited and philanthropic manufacturers themselves, letters were sent to leading mill men, frankly outlining our policies and asking the co-operation of all who recognized the justice of our cause. The replies received, both in tone and character, were very gratifying, and it was largely by means of the co-operation of the bigger-hearted manufacturers, won to our cause in this way, that we were able to make, without opposition on the part of other manufacturing interests, the advances in legislation achieved at the session of the legislature a year ago. Perhaps a more vigorous fight might have won more, and it must be admitted that we were late in beginning our work in the legislature. Bishop Cheshire, the Chairman, and the Vice-Chairman being busily engaged, the work was taken up by Mr. J. W. Bailey and managed with tact and discretion. Under his leadership two important and some minor changes in the law were secured:

(1) The age limit was raised from twelve to thirteen years, except for twelve-year-old children employed solely in apprenticeship capacity and after having attended school at least four months of the preceding twelve.

(2) Children under fourteen were prohibited from engaging in night work, this law taking effect the first of this year.

While not directly affecting children, the growth of public sensitiveness concerning factory conditions was also illustrated by the strengthening of the eleven-hour law, making it apply to operatives of all ages instead of only to those under eighteen as formerly; and another indirect help to the cause of the factory children was the passage of a mild compulsory education law, which will almost certainly be strengthened by the next General Assembly. Looking the field over, the most serious defects in our present child labor law are these: (1) That it does not provide for an adequate system of inspection and enforcement, and (2) that we are allowing girls under fourteen to work in the mills without restrictions. I am sure that the next legislature will very early remedy these two most glaring shortcomings. The manufacturers cannot object to a thorough-going system of inspection, the

only result of which will be to protect the law-abiding mills from being put at a disadvantage by the law-breaking ones, nor can we expect successful opposition to the demand for raising the age limit for girls. The South's sense of gallantry and chivalry is not a delusion, but a definite fact that all classes must reckon with. And in view of the disastrous physical effects of the steady employment in the mills of girls under fourteen—the future mothers of the South's citizenship—not only our sense of chivalry, but the deepest consideration of humanity and patriotism call for this next most important advance in North Carolina child labor legislation. In the name of humanity and womanhood, this reform will be won; and as for other policies of our Committee, it would be presumptuous for me to speak in advance of their meeting. The conservative policy of our North Carolina Committee, while it may not seem to have won all that a more radical course might have attained, has some manifest advantages. First, we must not go too far ahead of the public sentiment, and in the second place, the cooperation of fair-minded and progressive manufacturers has silenced or discredited the opposition on the part of the other manufacturers, who might have criticized our policies as meddlesome, besides getting better feeling and enthusiasm on the whole than would otherwise have been possible.

I think the future of child labor legislation in the South is very bright. If there are two points that the South emphasizes more strongly than anything else, they are its respect for womanhood and the racial supremacy of the whites, and both of these points are so much involved in this question that there seems to be no possible doubt of the success of the cause.

I remember that last summer I spent some time with one of the big plantation owners of the South. I rode out with him one morning last July over his plantation, and saw the negro children going to school with a teacher trained in Booker Washington's School in Tuskegee, all of them given ample educational facilities. That is one side of the picture. That afternoon we went to the cotton mill, and with the older people, there came out a multitude of white children, old-looking, some misshapen, humpbacked and sallow. They reminded me more of Markham's picture of "The Man With the Hoe" than anything I had ever seen. Of course, the child labor law of Georgia is only of recent adoption, but I was told that a boy of fourteen I saw had never been to school at all. The manager of the mill told me so frankly. Well, that illustrates my point about saving the white children. If we are to give children of the colored race the advantages of educational facilities and good health and try to keep the white children bound out in cotton mills, it will mean decadence for the South, and prove us untrue to its ideals.

CLARENCE H. POE,
Vice-Chairman.

REPORT OF THE OHIO CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The Ohio Committee is pleased to report most satisfactory progress in the work of improving the child labor situation in this state since the last annual meeting of the National Committee.

One of the most advanced laws which regulate child labor in this country has just been enacted by the legislature of this state and will go into effect July 1st, 1908. This measure is known as the Reynolds Bill, having been introduced by Representative Reynolds, of Cleveland, and during the period of its consideration by the legislature, its passage was earnestly advocated by the Ohio Child Labor Committee and by many friends of the movement, including members of several clubs and labor organizations. The measure provides, among other things, that no boy under sixteen and no girl under eighteen shall be employed more than eight hours in any one day, and that at least thirty minutes daily shall be allowed employees for lunch. Another one of the excellent features of this law is the provision for additional factory inspectors, eight of whom may be women.

Considerable opposition to this law has developed among many of the manufacturers of the state, who complain of the eight-hour provision, declaring that business cannot be conducted successfully with a portion of the employees working eight hours and the rest ten hours. Some manufacturers have decided, it is said, to ignore the law with a view to bringing on a test of its constitutionality. It will be interesting to watch the developments of the situation during the next few months.

According to the terms of an agreement made with the National Committee, the Ohio Child Labor Committee is about to be reorganized on a basis which will afford all residents of Ohio who contribute to this anti-child labor movement, the opportunity to keep closely in touch with the work being done by both State and National Committees and have, without extra cost, the double satisfaction of helping to improve conditions in their own state and at the same time supporting the cause in all the other states of the Union. This is to be accomplished by making every member of the National Committee in Ohio a member of the State Committee also, the membership fees to be forwarded, as heretofore, to the National Committee, to be disbursed as needed in the general work. It is expected that this arrangement will result in a large increase in the membership from this state.

Respectfully submitted,
ALBERT H. FREIBERG,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE CHILD LABOR LEAGUE OF WARREN, OHIO

Progress in local conditions is reported by the executive committee along two lines. It seems certain that some instruction in manual training and cooking will be introduced into our public schools next September. According to the last report of the investigating committee, and the report of the truant officer, no children of school age are at the present time employed illegally in factories.

During the past year, the League held two open meetings. The first

was devoted to a consideration of the physical, educational, moral and social interests of children of school age, and was addressed by a physician, the superintendent of public schools, a clergyman and the mayor. The second meeting, devoted to the subject of manual training in the schools, was addressed by one of the manufacturers, a physician, the principal of the high school and the superintendent of public schools. Various local organizations have discussed the subject of child labor, and the chairman of the League, by invitation, recently presented the subject to one of the local missionary societies.

While the League can boast of no statistical information as to the result of its work, the active co-operation of officials in the enforcement of the law regulating the early employment of children is indicative of efforts well spent.

The League has at present forty members, each of whom is an associate member of the National Committee.

Respectfully submitted,
PHEBE T. SUTLIFF,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION

The Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, a federation of the local child labor organizations existing in several parts of the state, was formed in the spring of 1907. Inasmuch as the State Legislature is not in session during the present winter (1908), the organization of the state association has not yet been completely effected, each local organization being at present engaged in a campaign of education looking toward concerted action next winter.

I have been requested by the Philadelphia Committee and the Pittsburg Association to present the following outline of conditions in our state. As reported one year ago, through a court decision declaring two sections of its child labor law unconstitutional, Pennsylvania lost almost all that had been gained by the child labor law of 1905. We sank back to the affidavit evidence of age, the notary issuance of affidavits, the twelve-hour work day and the night work exception for the benefit of the glass industry.

A bill to remedy this condition was introduced last winter by the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, but met with the determined opposition of the chief factory inspector, who had introduced an opposition bill allowing the notary issuance of certificates, the glass house exception for night work, and introducing what is even at present not allowed by law, a system of ninety-day special twelve-year-old poverty permits, besides abolishing the present reading and writing test for beginning work. Both the committee's bill and that of the factory inspector failed to pass the legislature. The chief factory inspector thereupon, by interpreting the existing law according to his wishes, removed the reading and writing test as a condition for the issuance of an affidavit. Fortunately the Attorney General has ordered this restored.

One bright spot during the year's history was the passage last winter of a new compulsory education law, raising the age from thirteen to fourteen years (so that it agrees with the child labor law), giving truant officers the right to enter factories, and most important of all, requiring all employers of children to report four times each year to the superintendent of schools the name, age, place of residence and parents' names of every child under sixteen in his establishment. Few superintendents yet realize the powerful instrument the law has placed in their hands, to stop child labor within their districts. In one town, however, the borough of Olyphant, with a total school population of but 1,102, the school superintendent has used the new law with most commendable vigor, succeeding in forcing sixty-seven children out of collieries and silk mills into the schools. The average age of the boys was eleven and one-half years and of the girls twelve years. All these children had affidavits on file showing them to be either fourteen or sixteen years of age.

The association will have the benefit, in its campaign for next winter, of the important material now being gathered by investigators connected with the Pittsburg Survey.

FREDERICK S. HALL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE RHODE ISLAND JOINT COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOR

By invitation of the executive committee of the Providence Public Education Association, certain organizations in the state working in behalf of the betterment of conditions and opportunities for Rhode Island working children were asked to send delegates to a conference to consider the advisability of joint co-operation in some practical direction. The societies represented at this conference, ten in number, formed themselves into a joint committee, and, on January 30, 1908, held two public meetings—the afternoon meeting on the subject of "Child Labor," the evening meeting on "The True Ideal of a Public School System that Aims to Benefit All." Both meetings were well attended. Dr. E. W. Lord, secretary for New England of the National Child Labor Committee, and Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League, were the principal speakers at the afternoon meeting, presided over by Bishop McVickar, Chairman of the Rhode Island Child Labor Committee.

The general interest in the meetings seemed to indicate an aroused public sentiment in favor of better legislation for the working children of the state. The joint committee decided to present a bill to the present Assembly asking that the limit of the day's work for children be put at seven p. m. instead of eight as at present, and that the privilege given mercantile establishments of exemption from the law for four days before Christmas and on Saturday nights be withdrawn. The bill also required that to obtain a working certificate a child of fourteen must show ability to read and write simple sentences in English, and that there be no sufficient reason to doubt that such child

was physically able to perform the work which it intended to do. It was asked that this bill go into effect September, 1909. The committee to which the bill was referred by the House, amended it to go into effect in September, 1910, and also inserted another amendment giving the factory inspectors the right to demand of proprietors or managers of factories satisfactory evidence that a child apparently under sixteen, and whose employment certificate is not filed, is actually over sixteen.

The bill as amended passed the House the latter part of April and was sent to the Senate and by them referred to the Committee on Special Legislation, where it now lies. The Assembly has taken a week's recess and it is possible the bill may yet get before the Senate this year.[3] The women's clubs representing the State Federation have been loyally supporting the bill through their delegate on the Joint Committee, and the Child Labor Committee of the Consumers' League has also exerted itself in its behalf.

MRS. CARL BARUS,
Chairman, Joint Committee.

REPORT OF THE WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The Wisconsin child labor law of 1903 had been in effect between three and four years when the biennial session of 1907 approached. Its enforcement had shown it to be one of the most useful and practical laws, and it seemed necessary to take a step forward.

Two features of the law had been often questioned: (1) Vacation permits in specified industries at twelve and thirteen years. (2) The granting of permits by factory inspectors. After long consideration and study, the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee decided that it could not recommend the refusal of vacation permits until municipal playgrounds and truant officers were greatly increased in number, nor any present curtailment of powers of factory inspectors.

But several weaknesses of our law we determined to correct by providing for: (1) A detailed and thorough dangerous employment clause. (2) An educational test. (3) A nine-hour day for children under sixteen; work forbidden after six at night or before seven in the morning, and some minor changes, such as requiring uniform application and permit forms, prompt report to the commissioner of labor on all applications or permits and increase in the test of physical efficiency. In the sharp contest that ensued, these minor improvements were lost in committee, but were not rejected on their merits and will later win their way.

The bill was amended in committee at the eleventh hour, by the insertion of a perishable goods clause demanded by the canning factory interests, permitting night work to children under sixteen "in cases where it is necessary to save perishable goods from serious damage." We hope to report

[3]By amendments, the educational requirement was stricken out, and employment of children in mercantile establishments was permitted up to 10 p. m. on Saturday; but even in this weakened form the bill failed of passage.

at the 1909 meeting that this reactionary clause has been stricken from our law.

Three new sections were sought to be incorporated in the law at the session of 1907:

I. A dangerous employment clause, one of the most thorough in the country, modeled closely on the Illinois law of 1905, was put into the Wisconsin law.

Besides thorough dangerous machinery clauses, mentioning machines and trades by name in detail, the law forbids employment of children under sixteen: (a) In tobacco warehouses, cigar factory, etc.; (b) In any place where intoxicating liquors are made, given away or sold; (c) In any theatre or concert hall; and has at the end a general clause forbidding the employment of children under sixteen "in any other employment dangerous to life or limb, injurious to the health or depraving the morals of such child."

We were surprised and delighted that such a drastic law went through so easily. Results: Probably one thousand children dismissed under this act by breweries, stamping factories, etc., and a tremendous gain in health, morals and safety of employees. There will be still more wide-reaching effects if the casualty companies construe the general clause as many of them have been inclined to do.

II. *The Educational Test.*—We asked for the simplest kind of an educational test, and provided for certificate by principal of public, private or parochial school, countersigned by superintendent of schools, that applicant could read simple sentences in English or in his native language.

The test in this last shape was put into the law but robbed of much of its force by striking out the certificate clause and throwing the duty of educational examination on the factory inspector or other officer to whom application is made.

III. *The Nine-Hour-Day Clause.* The nine-hour-day clause proved to be the center of the conflict, and behind the ten-hour day were ranged all the forces of the manufacturers and merchants, and the hardest fight the friends of child labor restriction in Wisconsin had ever known was the result. The opposition to the nine-hour day seemed to result partly from the feeling that it was the prelude to the application for an eight-hour day and might prove to be a part of the socialist or union labor demand for an eight-hour day for all laborers. The fact that any reduction from ten hours would throw out of work many children now employed as helpers, or would make it troublesome to limit their hours while the general factory day is ten hours, and the further fact that in stores and in certain manufacturing industries children could be profitably employed for ten hours, furnished the ammunition for the enemies of the nine-hour clause. It is not necessary to rehearse the history of the fight nor to enlarge upon the tactics employed by the opponents of the law. It is probable that had we consented to let the nine-hour clause go, the friends of the children could have drawn about what child labor bill they wanted in other respects and it would have been passed. The final result was, as so often happens, a

compromise of fifty-five hours a week instead of the very much better and more workable provision of six nine-hour days. But a straight step in advance was taken, and we hope the Legislature of 1911, and possibly of 1909, may give the straight nine-hour day and better limit the working hours in the evening.

It is interesting and hopeful to note the increasing number of statements from manufacturers and large employers of labor that work of children under sixteen is economically unprofitable; and we hope the application of the dangerous employment clauses and the fifty-five hours a week will pave the way for a straight nine-hour day.

The Committee is glad to record that, however its proposed laws may have been opposed, the laws passed have been, in the vast majority of cases, thoroughly and honestly obeyed by manufacturers and large employers of labor. The general outlook in Wisconsin is very hopeful but there is need of much improved legislation regulating street trades.

Statistical Summary.

Latest official report (another to be issued this summer) shows 16,458 permits issued in Wisconsin in two years ending October 31, 1906. Accuracy impossible, because law does not compel a report of all permits issued.

Of 200,000 people employed, 3.6 per cent, or 7,157, were children of fourteen or fifteen. Only 156, six of whom were in Milwaukee and 150 outside, were reported as under fourteen, and these were dismissed. While Milwaukee shows one-half the adult workers of the state, it had considerably more than half the children. Nearly four-fifths of all employees work ten hours a day. About 4 per cent of all permits issued are vacation permits. Almost twice as many boys as girls were given regular permits. Average public school attendance, four years. Average parochial school attendance, six to seven years. Less than one-third of 1 per cent had attended no school. Most reliable estimates for year ending December 31, 1907: Regular permits, 6,000; vacation permits, 390; prosecution of employers, 27; children under sixteen dismissed, 440; children dismissed under 1907 law, 1,350; permits refused, 425.

Edward W. Frost,
Chairman.

REPORTS FOR THE SOUTHERN STATES

Virginia.

A strong child labor committee was organized in Virginia in the fall of 1907, with Senator Eugene C. Massie as chairman. A child labor bill was introduced in the early days of the Legislature of 1908 by Senator Massie, but was vigorously opposed by representatives of the cotton mill and tobacco factory interests. A compromise measure was agreed upon, raising the age limit from twelve to thirteen in 1909 and fourteen in 1910. One provision of the new law excited so much opposition from the manu-

facturing interests that it bids fair to be effective. It provides that the employment of children under the legal age shall be *prima facie* evidence of guilt on the part of both employer and parent.

A compulsory education law similar to the North Carolina statute was also adopted by the Virginia Legislature under the vigorous prosecution of J. D. Eggleston, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia and a valued member of the Virginia Child Labor Committee.

North Carolina.

A report for North Carolina is presented elsewhere by Clarence H. Poe.

South Carolina.

In South Carolina, Rev. A. E. Seddon has been conducting some investigations for the National Committee, some account of which has been given in his paper on the "Education of Mill Children in the South." A South Carolina Committee has not been organized. The material is being gathered for it and it is hoped that a vigorous campaign will be fought before the coming Legislature to raise the age limit and also to secure compulsory education.

Florida.

We are yet without a child labor committee in Florida, though there are a number of local committees devoted to the child labor subject belonging to the different women's clubs of the State, which have been very active and aggressive. It was due to them and the labor unions that the Florida bill was passed last year, and they are earnest in their efforts to raise the age limit from twelve to fourteen and to provide for factory inspection. The child labor evil in Florida is almost wholly confined to the cigar factories in three cities and the oyster packing industries on the coast.

Georgia.

The Georgia Child Labor Committee is circularizing the members of the Legislature with regard to the passage of the three bills now on the calendar by the second term of the Legislature, which meets in June. These three measures are: a provision for factory inspection, the reduction of the hours from sixty-six to sixty a week, and the cutting off of the exceptions to the twelve-year age limit which permit ten-year-old children to be employed under certain circumstances.

Alabama.

In Alabama there has been no change in the situation since the passage of the child labor bill reported last fall. The inspector of jails and factories was given an assistant and an increased appropriation by the last Legislature. I understand that, on account of his sickness, very little work has been done with regard to factory inspection.

Mississippi.

A child labor committee was formed in Mississippi in the fall of 1907, and at the same time an investigation into the conditions of the Mississippi mills was made by Rev. A. E. Seddon on behalf of the National Committee. Mr. Seddon reported that 25 per cent of the operatives were under fourteen and 50 per cent of the children were illiterate. The facts secured by this investigation were effectively used by the Mississippi Child Labor Committee in the passage of the child labor bill for that state. On account of the opposition of the mill owners, the age limit was reduced from fourteen to twelve before the bill could be passed; and it was provided that the sheriffs of the different counties should aid the work of factory inspection until other men were provided.

Louisiana.

The Secretary for the Southern States has been in correspondence with Miss Jean M. Gordon, Factory Inspector for the Parish of New Orleans, with regard to the organization of a child labor committee for Louisiana, although the Era Club, of New Orleans, is an organization vitally interested in this matter. An effort will be made at the coming session of the Legislature in May to amend the present child labor law.

Tennessee.

I have no report from Tennessee, though the members of the Committee were active at the meeting of the Textile Conference in Nashville last fall, at which a program of improved legislation was adopted and commended to the Southern States. They have not had a meeting, I believe, since the adjournment of the Legislature in the spring of 1907, but they succeeded, with the aid of the labor forces, in shortening the hours from sixty-six to sixty a week.

Arkansas.

In Arkansas an independent committee was formed without any affiliation with the National Committee, except the use of its literature, which was freely supplied. The Arkansas Legislature last year amended its child labor law, raising the age limit from twelve to fourteen, and from ten to twelve for the children of dependent parents. There were other important improvements in the old law.

Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Legislature is now considering the passage of a child labor bill and a compulsory education bill in accordance with the constitutional requirements, and it is confidently expected that these bills will become laws in substantially unchanged form, and will serve as a model to many of the states which have not yet reached their standard.

TEXAS.

Interest is developing in Texas concerning the needed amendments to the Texas child labor law, which has not been touched for several years. It is hoped that a state committee can be organized in Texas in the near future, and that a successful effort will be made before the Texas Legislature of 1909 to raise the standard of child labor legislation in that state.

A. J. MCKELWAY,
Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

SECRETARY'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE THIRD FISCAL YEAR, SEPTEMBER 30, 1907

I. LEGISLATION—STATE.

During the third fiscal year legislatures in eighteen States enacted child labor laws of importance, Florida placing a law on the statute books for the first time. Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Vermont, Minnesota, Idaho, Tennessee and South Carolina enacted important amendments. The net results of the year justify the belief that more complete organization in the various states would place this Committee in a position to powerfully influence needed legislation in all parts of the country.

In New Jersey a bill to prohibit the employment at night of boys under sixteen was defeated by the combined influence of the glass manufacturers and their employees. In Pennsylvania a bill was presented by the Pennsylvania Committee to correct flagrant defects in the present Pennsylvania law. This was defeated through the influence of manufacturing interests, the adverse activities of the factory inspection department and the inability of the Pennsylvania Committee or of this Committee to pursue the campaign with the persistency required by the situation. Had the National Child Labor Committee been able to maintain skilled workers at the Harrisburg Legislature during the last two months of the legislative session, it is probable that not less than 10,000 children would be in school who are to-day in the mines and factories of that State.

FEDERAL.

Five important child labor bills before Congress received the attention of the National Child Labor Committee, especially through the personal efforts of the Secretary, Dr. Lindsay, and of Assistant Secretary Dr. McKelway, at Washington:

1. A bill to incorporate. By Act of Congress, the National Child Labor Committee received articles of incorporation dated March 8, 1907.
2. The District of Columbia Child Labor Bill, held over from the preceding session, was favorably considered in both Houses, but failed of passage.[4]

[4]Passed May 28, 1908.

3. A bill for the establishment of a National Children's Bureau. This measure, which has received the endorsement of a large number of organizations interested in the protection of children, failed to pass either House.
4. A bill authorizing an investigation, under the Department of Commerce and Labor, of the conditions of working women and children in America. Congress appropriated $150,000 to this purpose and placed the direction of the work in the hands of the United States Commissioner of Labor.
5. The Beveridge-Parsons Child Labor Bill: to exclude from interstate commerce articles presented for shipment by factories or mines employing children under fourteen years of age. This bill, originally an independent measure, but later added as an amendment to the District of Columbia Child Labor Bill, did not come to vote in either House.

Thus, two of the five child labor bills were enacted. The first places the National Child Labor Committee officially before the American public as an incorporated organization, while the second should lay a scientific foundation for such federal and state legislation as may be desirable, by providing accurate and authoritative information on the extent and conditions of child employment.

II. INVESTIGATION.

Extensive investigations have been conducted during the year in Alabama, Louisiana, North and South Carolina and Florida, covering particularly the employment of children in the cotton industry and the manufacture of tobacco; in the soft coal regions of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Maryland; in the glass industry in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, Missouri and Maryland, and in the anthracite coal communities of Pennsylvania. To secure material for use at the Jamestown Exposition, during the summer an investigation was made of street trades in New York City, Philadelphia and Scranton; the physical effects of premature employment as seen among dispensary patients in the New York dispensaries, and of child labor in the tenements of New York City. The results of these investigations have been reported to the Board of Trustees from time to time by the Assistant Secretaries or appear in the various pamphlets and leaflets published by the Committee.

While detailed discussion of the results of these investigations is impossible here, the following general conclusions are submitted:

(*a*) In the Southern States the excessive length of the work-day is universally a hardship upon the children in manufacture, while the age limits prescribed by law, low as they are, are subject to almost universal violation, owing to the lack of official factory inspection and of authentic evidence of the age of employed children.

(*b*) A reply to the argument that the glass factory depends for life upon the night work of little children is in the fact that the glass

industry shows a greater increase in the states (Ohio, Illinois, New York) carefully forbidding the employment of young children at night than in the three leading glass manufacturing states (Indiana, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) permitting child labor at night. The age limit for employment in glass factories in Missouri, Maryland and West Virginia is so low and employment of young children at night so extensive as to offer a serious menace to education and health.

(*c*) The employment of children in the soft coal mines varies according to laws and industrial conditions. The worst conditions thus far discovered are in certain sections of Pennsylvania, although the employment of little boys underground is extensive in Maryland and West Virginia.

(*d*) The conditions of child employment in the mines and breakers of the anthracite coal region are slightly improved, partly due to the awakening of public interest, partly to the installation of mechanical devices. The decrease in child labor thus far is slight, however, and the extent of the employment of boys ranging from nine to fourteen years of age is virtually as reported to this Committee a year ago. The vigor of the Mine Inspection Department in attempting to enforce the present inadequate law is gratifying. In a recent order issued by the Chief Inspector of Mines, he calls the attention of his deputies to the fact that deception as to the ages of working children is frequent, and orders the aggressive prosecution of parents or employers who evade or disobey the law. As repeatedly shown in reports of our investigations, the mine inspectors are practically powerless to correct this great abuse of child labor until the law of Pennsylvania is thoroughly revised.

III. Travel and Public Speaking.

The Secretaries have been in constant demand for public addresses on the subject of child labor. The Secretary, Dr. Lindsay, owing to the administrative duties of the office, has been compelled to decline many calls for his services in public speaking, but has frequently represented the Committee in this capacity in the Eastern, the New England and the Middle Western States. The activities of Dr. McKelway from the Southern office cover a record of travel and work through the Southern States as far west as Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi. Mr. Lovejoy has traveled through the North, from the New England States to California, addresses having been delivered in fifteen States. Many other speakers officially representing the National Child Labor Committee have added to the number of public addresses in various parts of the country.

IV. Organization of State and Local Committees.

State committees have been organized during the year in Maine, Kentucky and Nebraska; local committees have been formed in Oklahoma City,

Okla.; Warren, Ohio; the Southwestern District of Baltimore and Grand Rapids, Mich.; and the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee has been reorganized. In process of formation at present are state committees in California, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia and West Virginia.

Our state and local committees are steadily coming to a larger view of their opportunities. Hitherto, efforts have been largely confined to legislative campaigns. The New York, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky and other committees are now active in the administration of scholarship funds, and their reports at the third annual meeting and subsequent reports to this office attest the practical value of these activities.

V. CHILD LABOR DAY.

In the early part of January, a letter, signed by representative clergymen in New York City, was addressed to 12,000 clergymen representing Jewish, Catholic and all the leading Protestant denominations in the United States, requesting that Saturday, January 25th, or Sunday, January 26th, be set aside by the churches as Child Labor Day. It was suggested that at least one service on that day be devoted to the discussion of child labor and to the consideration of national legislation and a law for the District of Columbia restricting the employment of young children. This call met a very general response. Many requests were received for the literature offered free of charge upon application; and this led to subsequent correspondence with about 500 clergymen. Numerous requests were received for literature to be distributed at the churches on the day specified. Sermons were devoted to the subject in pulpits all over the country, and several of these were later printed in pamphlet form for distribution. Extensive publicity was given both by the daily and religious press to the necessity of the co-operation of the churches and to the subject of child labor in general. Many church clubs and societies have since shown their continued interest by requesting stereopticon lectures and joining the associate and sustaining membership of the Committee.

VI. PUBLICITY.

The report of the third annual meeting, held in Cincinnati, December 13, 1906, was published in full in the January, 1907, number of THE ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the various papers and addresses were published in separate reprints for distribution. In addition, a number of the earlier pages have been reprinted and other pamphlets and leaflets added, especially for distribution in the exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.

In November, 1906, an arrangement was made with the *Woman's Home Companion* to publish each month a department of official notes from our office, and for twelve months one or more pages devoted to child labor were thus distributed to their 600,000 subscribers. At our request this plan was terminated with the October, 1907, issue.

In the various investigations, photographs and descriptions have been collected and published either in our official pamphlets or through newspaper and magazine writers who have sought information from us.

The publications of the Committee to the end of the third fiscal year have reached sixty in the serial number of pamphlets, and sixteen in the series of leaflets. The total number of documents issued is 180,000, and the total number of pages aggregates 2,180,000. Aside from our own publications, the public has been informed of our work through the columns of many periodicals.

VII. EXHIBITS.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees, April 22, 1907, the Acting Secretary was authorized to prepare an itemized account of the expenses to be incurred, including the extensive distribution of literature, for an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition. Pursuant to this resolution, a plan was drafted and the Committee received a special gift of $3,000 for the purpose. The exhibit was installed in the Social Economy Building on August 20th. Daily reports from the exhibit indicate that it is serving a valuable purpose, especially in bringing to the attention of the Southern people the extent and conditions of child labor in various parts of the country. During the month beginning September 15th, Dr. McKelway had been at Jamestown delivering a series of stereopticon lectures in the Social Economy Building.

The Committee also conducted a successful exhibit of its work at the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction at Rochester in November, and at the Industrial Exhibit at Philadelphia in December, 1906.

VIII. FINANCES.

The receipts and expenditures of the Committee as shown by the Treasurer's report for the third fiscal year are summarized in the following items:

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1907.

As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, of New York, certified public accountants.

DEBITS.

Cash on hand and in bank October 1, 1906		$61.64
Receipts:		
Paid subscriptions	$27,582.43	
Special Fund, Jamestown Exhibit	3,000.00	
Sale of literature, etc	130.75	
Account North Carolina Child Labor Committee	21.65	
Miscellaneous receipts	10.25	
Loans	2,000.00	
		32,745.08
		$32,806.72

CREDITS.

Expenses:		
Salaries—Administrative	$5,258.34	
Clerks and stenographers	3,521.73	
		$8,780.07

Brought forward	$8,780.07	
Stationery and office supplies	1,229.18	
Postage	2,209.19	
Investigations (including salaries, $2,500)	3,045.41	
Rent	1,117.55	
Traveling expenses	1,459.13	
Printing	2,635.12	
Telephone and telegraph	333.45	
Advertisement account	2,084.55	
General expenses	464.04	
		$23,357.69
Miscellaneous:		
Jamestown Exhibit	$2,461.58	
Loan repaid	3,500.00	
Office furniture and fixtures	226.50	
Special entertainment	28.48	
Expenses second fiscal year	210.63	
Account Pennsylvania Committee	50.00	
		6,477.19
		$29,834.88
Cash on hand and in bank September 30, 1907		2,971.84
		$32,806.72

IX. MEMBERSHIP.

The National Child Labor Committee is compelled to record with regret the loss, during its third fiscal year, of the following members: through death, A. J. Cassatt and Samuel Spencer, and through withdrawal from membership, Edgar Gardner Murphy and J. W. Sullivan. No members have been added.

X. CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS.

The financial record of the Committee shows at the beginning of the third fiscal year 957 associate and 24 sustaining members. At the end of the third fiscal year the total number of contributing members is as follows:

Guarantors	36
Sustaining	300
Associate	2,176
Contributing	142

XI. ADMINISTRATION.

This Committee has sustained a serious loss during the year in the resignation from the secretaryship of Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay. His administration of this office has been characterized by his recognized ability and great devotion to the interests this Committee was formed to serve. Many attempts were made by the Trustees to retain Dr. Lindsay's services,

but, having become Director of the New York School of Philanthropy and Professor of Social Legislation at Columbia University, it was impossible for him longer to bear the burdens of this office. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees, April 22d, Dr. Lindsay's resignation was accepted and he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Lovejoy was appointed Acting Secretary.

The increased correspondence due to the plan of a popular associate membership has necessitated the enlargement of the office staff. Our files now show a correspondence list of over 20,000 names.

The material and facts regarding child labor collected by the Committee during the three years of its work have been placed at the disposal of the United States Commissioner of Labor and his special agents for aid in their investigation of the conditions of child labor, authorized by Congress at its last session.

In consultation with the Chairman of the Committee, the need was discussed for a thorough compilation of the official and scientific literature on child labor in European countries. Through the kindness of Dr. Isaac Adler such a compilation is to be made for this Committee by a well-qualified physician whom he will select for the work.

The Finance Committee, May 27th, made a careful review of the financial situation and directed that especial attention be given to securing additional contributions. Through efforts continued during the summer, new names were added to the membership list, especially in the class of sustaining members, and these, together with other contributors, have enabled the Committee to close the year with the credit balance shown in the Treasurer's report.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
Acting Secretary.

New York, October 1, 1907.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The first annual meeting of this Committee was held in New York City, February 14th to 16th, 1905. The second annual meeting was held in Washington, December 8th to 10th, 1905, with supplementary sessions, one in Philadelphia on December 7th, and one in Chicago on December 16th. The third annual meeting was held in Cincinnati, December 13th to 15th, 1906.

At the fourth annual meeting, held in Atlanta, Ga., April 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1908, the following program was carried out:

GENERAL TOPIC OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING: CHILD LABOR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

I. Thursday Evening, April 2: Reception and Banquet.—Piedmont Hotel.

Toastmaster, General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman of the Georgia Child Labor Committee.

"The National Child Labor Committee," Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman National Child Labor Committee, and Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, New York.

"What Atlanta is Doing for the Children," His Honor Mayor W. R. Joyner.

"The Business World and Child Labor," Asa G. Candler, President of the Chamber of Commerce.

"Paternalism or Fraternalism," Hon. Hooper Alexander.

"The Work of the Women's Clubs." Mrs. Hamilton Douglas.

"Organized Labor and Child Labor," Charles Bernhardt.

II. Friday Morning, April 3, 10.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

Conference.—Reports of State and Local Committees.

Presiding Officer, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

"WHAT IS A GOOD CHILD LABOR LAW?"

1. Symposium.
   Five-minute addresses covering questions of age limit and other standards; who should issue employment certificates; the English education test, with a comparison of child labor laws in other countries, etc.
2. "Child Labor in New England," Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England, National Child Labor Committee.
3. "Report on Southern Textile Conference," A. J. McKelway.
4. "Children on the Streets of Cincinnati," E. N. Clopper, Secretary for Ohio Valley States, National Child Labor Committee.

III. Friday Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

"CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION."

Presiding Officer, Dr. A. J. McKelway.

1. "Compulsory Education in the South," George F. Milton, editor *The Sentinel,* Knoxville, Tenn.
2. "The Education of Mill Children in the South," Rev. Alfred E. Seddon, Atlanta, Ga.
3. "The Function of Education in Abolishing Child Labor," Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.
4. "Compulsory Education, the Solution of the Child Labor Problem," Lewis W. Parker, Greenville, S. C.
5. "Scholarships for Working Children," Fred S. Hall, Secretary, Philadelphia Child Labor Committee.[5]

[5]This article will be published later, as a separate pamphlet, by the National Child Labor Committee.

IV. Friday Evening, April 3, 8 o'clock.—Grand Opera House.

"EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR ON SOCIETY."

Presiding Officer, Dr. Felix Adler.

1. "The Basis of the Anti-Child Labor Movement in the Idea of American Civilization," Dr. Felix Adler.
2. "Social Cost of Accident, Ignorance and Exhaustion," Prof. Charles R. Henderson, University of Chicago.
3. "The Leadership of the Child," Dr. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta.

V. Saturday Morning, April 4, 10.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

Conference—Business Session. Reports of State and Local Committees.

Presiding Officer, Edward W. Frost, Milwaukee, Wis.

A SYMPOSIUM ON FACTORY INSPECTION.

1. "Essentials in Factory Inspection," Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Inspector of Workshops and Factories, Ohio.
2. "Why the Children are in the Factory," Miss Jean M. Gordon, Factory Inspector, Louisiana.

Special Topics for Discussion.

1. "The Need of More Authority for Factory Inspectors."
2. "Duty of the Private Citizen to Aid in Law Enforcement."
3. "Co-operation with School Officials."

VI. Saturday Afternoon, 5.30-7.00 o'clock.—Governor's Mansion.

Reception by His Excellency, Governor Hoke Smith and Mrs. Smith.

VII. Saturday Evening, 8 o'clock.—Grand Opera House.

"CHILD LABOR AND THE STATE."

Presiding Officer, Dr. Felix Adler.

1. "The Consumers' Responsibility for Child Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary, National Consumers' League.
2. "The New View of the Child," Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., Secretary, Charity Organization Society, and Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University, New York City.
3. "The Club Woman and Child Labor," Mrs. A. O. Granger, Cartersville, Ga., of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.
4. "The Scope of National and State Regulation of Child Labor."* Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Director, New York School of Philanthropy, and Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University, New York.

VIII. Sunday Afternoon, 3.00 o'clock.—Mass Meeting, Grand Opera House.

"THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF CHILD LABOR."

Presiding Officer, Chancellor James H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

*This article will be published later as a separate pamphlet by the National Child Labor Committee.

1. "The Duty of the People in Child Protection," Hon. Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia.
2. "The State of Oklahoma and Her Children," Miss Kate Barnard, State Commissioner of Charities, Guthrie, Okla.
3. "The Psychology of the Child," Rev. J. W. Stagg, D.D., Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Birmingham, Ala.[1]

ATLANTA COMMITTEES ON FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Committee on Entertainment.—General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman, Hon. Hooper Alexander, Hon. W. A. Covington, Don Marquis, Ex-Gov. Allen D. Candler, Burton Smith, Councilman Wright, Mayor *Pro Tem.* Quillian, Alderman Key, Councilman Harmon, Councilman Alonzo Johnson, Hon. C. M. Candler, Rev. W. W. Landrum, Charles D. McKinney, Rev. T. H. Rice, R. J. Guin, Asa Candler, H. H. Whitcomb, V. G. Kriegshaber, Rev. C. B. Wilmer, A. J. McKelway.

Finance Committee—Clifford L. Anderson, Asa G. Candler, H. H. Whitcomb, A. J. McKelway, Sam D. Jones, James R. Gray, F. L. Seely, Clark Howell, Robert F. Maddox, Dr. David Marx, F. J. Paxon, Joseph Hirsch.

The first session of the annual meeting was a reception and banquet given by the Georgia Child Labor Committee to the members and guests of the National Child Labor Committee at the Piedmont Hotel. General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman of the Georgia Child Labor Committee, presided, and gave a welcome to the city and an endorsement of the work in which this Committee is engaged. In the course of his remarks, he declared that the progress of mankind is coincident with mental development, and the capacity of adult man for successful achievement is measured by the opportunities of his youth. Nine-tenths of human achievement, he believed, is attributable directly to selfish impulses, guided by independence of thought and action. Nevertheless, it did no violence to this faith to advocate an appeal to law to improve the standard of physical and mental equipment for the struggle with life. "No child is expected to determine for himself the wisest course to pursue in fitting himself for his future life. It must be determined for him, either by his parent or by his state, and since his state is compelled under our form of government to do what a majority of its people wills, it is in no sense contrary to the principles upon which our government is founded, that we adopt laws which prohibit those things which will degrade our citizenship or deprave our citizens, or which compel them to comply with reasonable regulations for sanitation, or for labor, or for other things contributing to their material and moral up-lifting. Therefore, I have no patience with those persons who, actuated by sordid motives, seek to belittle the efforts of those who have devoted themselves to this great work, and to classify them either as meddlers or advocates of paternalism.

"These eminent men and women, then, who have gathered together in our city for this occasion, command and deserve our respect and the gratitude of the nation; and Atlanta, with its liberal and ever-hospitable people,

[1]Paper not published owing to failure in securing stenographic report.

appreciating as she does, her selection as the place for the fourth annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, extends to you, guests of the evening, whom we delight to honor, a most cordial welcome.

"I now have the honor to present to you His Honor, W. R. Joyner, Mayor of Atlanta."

Mayor Joyner described briefly what Atlanta is doing for the children in the development of the probation system, the juvenile court and the improvement of the conditions of working children. He referred to a resolution recently passed by the General Council of Atlanta providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conditions in places where women and girls are employed. "I was very fortunate in securing ladies to serve on this committee who are much interested in this work and the result of their investigation will be watched for with interest. This committee has full power to make a complete investigation of the factories, mills, department stores and other places where women and girls are employed, and I am confident of their ultimate success in the correction of any evils that may be found to exist. I am informed that this is one of the first instances where a city government has taken a hand in such matters, welfare work of this kind usually coming through organizations of citizens.

"In regard to the mill children of Atlanta, it gives me pleasure to state than for ten years this city has contributed to their improvement. This has been done through the Atlanta Free Kindergarten Association, where the little children of the women who work in the mills are given free instruction through the Sheltering Arms, which maintains a free day nursery and does similar work in the mill districts, through the Home for the Friendless and through a corps of nine splendid physicians especially charged with the duty of waiting upon the poor of the city free of charge.

"It may be of interest to you to know that, although Atlanta's income is about two and one-half million dollars per annum, more than eighty thousand of this amount is expended annually for the relief of the poor and in maintaining non-sectarian institutions of various kinds, which have special charge of the work that is being fostered through the endeavors of such organizations as that to which you belong.

"I believe the work you are doing is of the utmost importance at this time. Certainly no efforts can deserve a greater reward than those which seek to remove the obstacles from the paths where little children walk, and which seek to make their lives sweeter and better and more joyful, and which give them the best opportunities to develop into the strong manhood and womanhood we all admire and which we all are, or ought to be, striving for."

Hon. Asa G. Candler, President of the Chamber of Commerce, discussed the relation of the business world to child labor. With subtle humor he defended child labor and the function of the National Child Labor Committee. He said: "Child labor properly conducted, properly surrounded, properly conditioned, is calculated to bring the highest measure of success to any country on the face of the earth. The most beautiful sight that we see is the child at labor; as early as he may get at labor, the more beautiful, the more useful does his life get to be.

"I understand the function of this National Child Labor Committee is solely to tell us how to surround the child that his labor may develop him into a noble, useful, competent laboring grown person. And while you are engaged in this great service, when you remember, if I have spoken the truth, that you labor in the richest field in all this universe, that which promises the greatest returns, then you will realize how important you are to society."

Dr. Adler, Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, responded to the addresses of welcome, and said:

"On behalf of the Committee over which I have the honor to preside, I thank you, General Anderson, for your cordial words of welcome, and you, Mr. Mayor, for the hand you so warmly extend to us. I propose also to answer the challenge implied in the last words of the beautiful address by the President of the Chamber of Commerce to which we have just listened.

"He has challenged us to tell how the child Atlanta is to play and how it is to labor, and what are to be the measure and the reward of its toil. It seems to me we can answer in no better way than to express the wish that this child Atlanta may emulate the lovely girl of Arcadia, who was the first to be called Atlanta, and in whose honor it is believed that this city was named,—the huntress and princess, matchless, peerless, swiftest in the race, with whom no one ever successfully competed until that last race in which she won by losing, the one race she ever lost and yet the one also in which she won the most; for she gathered the three golden apples to her breast and won a lover.

"So my wish for Atlanta is that this city may gather the threefold fruit to her breast; the fruit of material wealth, of civic progress and of humanitarian sentiment in the name of which we are here gathered together.

"I offer my tribute and my homage, in the name of our Committee, Mr. Chairman, to the modern Atlanta."

The address of Hon. Hooper Alexander, on "Paternalism or Fraternalism," drew a clear distinction between a social order in which improved conditions are super-imposed and a true democracy in which each citizen participates in the general advance.

He said: "Anaemic morality is degenerate. The virtue that springs from the good red blood is full of human passions, and, therefore, by so much as a people are virtuous and virile, by so much will their reforms be retarded when irritating intervention shall seek to scold or hurry them to their own betterment. Now, this is not inconsistent with the welcoming of a friendly and fraternal co-operation from without, that only tenders sympathy and a helping hand when asked.

"Child labor in factories is a new thing in Georgia. Twenty years ago it was scarcely known. Ten years ago it had become acute, and vested interest had appeared upon the scene. Seven years ago the inevitable struggle began here to be rid of it; and it is a satisfaction to me to know that from the beginning I was some small part of that movement. It has had its foredoomed reverses, but its ultimate triumph is in sight. The thing that has

been most potential to retard the movement here has been some limited amount of impatient scolding from New England, the surest provocative of quick resentment. On the natural passions thus aroused, vested interests have shrewdly played for their own purposes. And when these interests charged that the distant scoldings emanated from an interested source, jealous of industrial competition here, it was no easy matter to counteract the Machiavellian plea, so cunningly designed to play upon the passionate resentments of a generous people conscious of the injustice of the hasty criticisms aimed at their young fault.

"The advocates of that righteous reform here felt the more keenly the injustice of the thing, because we who are in the struggle knew that more than half the hampering opposition emanated from those very regions whence the alleged jealousies were charged to come—from non-resident investors whose potential influence, acting through capable agencies, unduly blocked our efforts.

"It was most fortunate that when this Committee sent its sympathetic aid to Georgia, its messenger and agent, Dr. McKelway, had the rare discretion to subordinate his official station and his own personality and to become, while rendering invaluable service in that work, only a mere co-operating home unit here.

"Child labor flourished in England many generations before an awakened public conscience there corrected it by law. Its history in New England was very much the same, for it lasted there fully three generations. Its course in the South has been very brief. Its ultimate elimination here will be reasonably prompt if no unwise philanthropy, by impatient scoldings, shall drive to the aid of vested interests those whose red blood makes them resent alike interference with our domestic concerns and straining interpretations that seek undue enlargement of the federal power.

"Uncharitable and revolutionary interference checked in the South one great reform and long delayed it, and the atonement was costly and bloody; and it will be well for all to profit by that lesson and let no other such mistaken spirit of intolerant reform stay the inevitable progress of righteousness at the cost of prolonged suffering to little children."

The address of Charles Bernhardt, representing the American Federation of Labor, was a vigorous denunciation of the employment of young children and an appeal to all classes of citizens to unite in eliminating from the industrial system so costly an error. He said: "We can never expect to get broad-minded, intelligent men from a race of pigmies brought about by unfavorable conditions or by conditions of toil that deprive them of an opportunity for education, an opportunity to get out in the open air and sunshine. Children cannot broaden mentally or physically in the sweat-shop, or factory, or mill; they must have an opportunity to expand. It has been said that these little children would not go to school if they had the opportunity. Perhaps the child does not know what school is. We must take into consideration the fact that the child who has been in the factory for several years feels timid about going to school, especially when it finds children more advanced than itself. Even these children feel that they can

get along and struggle through life without going to school. We must do something to overcome these conditions. It is a cause that appeals to everyone of us, whether we earn our bread by the sweat of our brow or by manual exercise. We all are American citizens. As an economic evil we should get together and stamp out child labor as we would a foreign foe. If organized labor, as has been said here to-night, feels that it is the pioneer, if it has made the fight these many years on this evil, it is because it is nearest to it. When working men get home from the shop, or the factory, and look at the little babies at the fireside dependent upon them for support, and realize what to-morrow may bring forth, they wonder ofttimes if it is possible that these little children they love better than their lives will have to face similar conditions. Although they hope to avoid this, and do as much as they can to prepare themselves, yet it is likely to happen to the majority of them. That is the reason they are so eager to see conditions change; so that each child may have an opportunity for common schooling, and to put itself in condition to work and to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. Let us continue to make the fight together, because this matter threatens our national life."

Mrs. Hamilton Douglass represented the women's clubs of Atlanta and spoke of their work. Hers was an eloquent defense of the right of woman to study the industrial conditions of modern society, because, in so doing, she is simply performing by new methods what the model housekeeper of ancient times did in caring for her household.

She said: "This present age, this twentieth century, has taken away the distaff from Penelope. It has put her spinning wheel in the factory. Her loom no longer stands in the four walls of her home: it stands in some great factory in Massachusetts, or North Carolina, or Georgia. Her spinning and weaving and dyeing, and brewing and baking, are taken a little further from her than in ancient times. Her children are educated a little further from her knee, but that does not make her a new woman. She is the same woman with the same duties and responsibilities, whether she travels in an ox-cart or a steam-car. Extrinsics do not change the eternal verities. Whether her co-workers spin or weave does not change her duty toward them. Just as the wise woman took care of her household when that household was in her sight, so the ideal woman of to-day must take care of those who are doing her work for her, wherever they may be. Just so far as the spinner in yonder factory spins for me, she is a part of my household; just so far as she weaves for me, so far is she a part of my household. If a little child works for me without having that 'portion of meat' that the wise woman gave, I am to blame. I must give a portion, not only to my household immediately around me, but to my more distant household. So the modern Penelope is the oldest-fashioned woman, when she takes an interest in the health and well-being of those women and children working for her in factory or sweatshop, or in the hidden, unlovely places of earth.

"The ideal club, the only one worthy of the name, is the club that helps women to see that far-off worker, that far-off member of the household, and just so far as any woman's club fails to help in that way, it fails

of its highest ideal and is not fit to survive. The woman's club is the field-glass that enables the club-woman to bring nearer to her that distant worker; to make her see that the distance between the factory that makes, and the home that consumes, is only a step. The woman's club is just a long-distance telephone that makes her hear the 'cry of the children.' The club woman who takes an interest in the sweat-shops, and the children in them, and in our factory workers everywhere, is just the same old-fashioned woman who 'looketh well to the ways of her household.'"

At the second session, Friday morning, April 3d, reports of state and local committees were presented, published elsewhere in this volume.

Following these reports the Conference engaged in a general discussion of the subject, "What is a Good Child Labor Law?" The importance of establishing rigid physical and educational standards was urged as offering greater protection to children than the mere establishment of an age limit. The discussion was opened by Mrs. Florence Kelley, with the following remarks:

ENFORCING CHILD LABOR LAWS.

"There are at least six essentials for a good child labor law, and the greatest of these is the enforcing official. In the interest of the children, these officials should be some of the ablest and most disinterested men and women in the community. With a thoroughly admirable chief inspector at work, everything else gradually comes, and without a thoroughly admirable chief inspector the best law remains largely valueless. Given excellent inspectors, and the weakness in any local situation is bound to be discovered, with the necessary legislation thereby rendered relatively easy to get. Next in order of importance comes a workable educational requirement. A child labor law is valuable to a child just in proportion as it applies the test of fitness to work directly to the child itself.

"We have no parish registers like those on which the English legislation rests, and they would be of no use for the foreign-born children if we had them. Yet we have everywhere placed upon poor and ignorant parents the burden of temptation to lie, and cheat and perjure themselves by placing upon them the duty of furnishing the child's age, as the chief condition for its finding employment. The crop of perjury that we have reaped has been richly deserved.

"In many states there is merely the requirement that a child, before beginning to work, shall reach a specified age. This is utterly futile without the further requirement of proof of age. Then arises the question, What kind of proof?

"The best kind is the child itself. If 'Johnny' is tall and strong and heavy; if he has graduated from the eighth grade of the public school and can do examples in fractions from dictation, he is presumably at least fourteen years old. For himself, these are the important tests, height, weight, school record of achievement, and available knowledge, to reinforce the evidence as to his age.

"These things we get in New York City by means of the requirement that

the public shall always have access to the filed documents in every child's case. At the office of the Board of Health there have been accumulating for some years, for every working child, the signed statement of the class teacher and principal as to the grade from which each child has come, and its days of school attendance since the thirteenth birthday. With this is filed the signed statement of the examining physican that the child is, in his opinion, of the normal development of a child of its age and in good health.

"If, therefore, a feeble-minded child be found at work, it is perfectly simple to trace the official whose faithlessness let the unhappy victim escape from the special class adapted to its needs, out into the world of work.

"Is the person at fault in such a dereliction the examining physician or the teacher or principal? Obviously all three, and clearly none of them has any such temptation as besets a toiling, illiterate mother.

"This, then, I believe to be the best method of enforcement yet devised for any child labor law in this country."

Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Factory Inspector of Ohio, urged the importance of the establishment of state truancy departments on the ground that a local truant officer is frequently unable to overcome the power of local influence in the performance of his duties. He also contended that the adequate enforcement of child labor laws demands the employment of women factory inspectors, a provision recently secured in the child labor law of Ohio.

Newton T. Baker, of Rhode Island, a textile manufacturer, inquired as to the operation of the "half-time system for children of school age." A brief discussion followed in which the experience of England was cited as emphasizing the following objections: First, that the child employed for a half day in the factory is too fatigued and too discouraged in competition with full-time students to do the best work in school; second, that the employers have found the system unsatisfactory, because of the irregularity of children working part time; third, that the law requiring the child to be in the factory a half day and in school a half day is practically impossible of enforcement.

Papers were presented by Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England, on "Child Labor in New England," and by E. N. Clopper, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, on "Children on the Streets of Cincinnati," and the following Report on the Southern Textile Conference was given by Dr. A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States:

The Southern Textile Conference.

At the meeting of the Tennessee Legislature an effort was made to amend the child labor law, and, as usual, the manufacturers opposed, while the labor unions and the child labor organizations advocated the improvement of the existing law. Before the matter was brought to an issue, however, and after the hearing of conflicting claims by the legislative committee, the two sides got together and agreed upon a compromise, namely, the shortening of the hours from sixty-six to sixty a week. At the same time it was suggested, and a resolution to that effect was passed by the legislature, that a Southern Textile Conference be called by the Governor of

Tennessee with representatives from the labor unions and from the manufacturing interests of the South, and those interested specifically in child labor reform. The conference was called to meet in Nashville, October 14 and 15, 1907.

The manufacturers of Tennessee did their best to secure representation from the manufacturing interests of the other Southern states, but in this they failed, though in some instances representatives were appointed by the governors of the respective states. When the conference assembled, it was found there were seventy-nine representatives of the labor unions present from several Southern states, eleven representing the manufacturing interests and ten members of the child labor organization. The Tennessee manufacturers therefore proposed withdrawing from the conference, but it was agreed to give them equal vote with the labor unions and child labor organization on the floor of the conference.

Colonel L. B. Tyson, of Knoxville, Tenn., a leading manufacturer of the state, was elected chairman of the conference, and Dan Wolff, of Memphis, secretary. After an address of welcome by the Governor of Tennessee, a committee on procedure was appointed, which recommended the following topics for discussion before the conference:

1. Age limit for the employment of children.
2. Hours of labor for children.
3. Age limit for night work.
4. Age limit for illiterate children.
5. Factory inspection.
6. Law enforcement.
7. Relation of compulsory education to child labor laws.
8. Rules and regulations for the employment of girls and women.
9. Certificate of employment.
10. Vagrancy.
11. Birth registration.
12. Marriageable age and age of consent.
13. Sanitary regulations.
14. Physical ability of children employed.

The resolutions offered on this topic were referred to a committee on resolutions, and, after a long and, at times, exciting discussion in the committee, the following recommendations were unanimously adopted by the committee and reported to the conference, which also adopted them by unanimous vote:

That the general age limit in manufacturing or mercantile employment and street trades be fixed at fourteen years.

That those Southern states that have not adopted a sixty-hour per week schedule should adopt same at once for all employers of women and children under eighteen years of age, except those engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic service, and adopt as soon thereafter as is practical a fifty-eight-hour schedule. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as a recommendation to lengthen the hours per day in cases of states that have already adopted laws providing shorter hours of work.

That no child under sixteen years of age be allowed to work in any manufacturing or mercantile establishment or in the street trades between the hours of seven p. m. and six a. m.

That the keynote to the solution of the child labor problem is compulsory education, and that each state shall pass stringent laws requiring all children between seven and fifteen years of age to attend school at least sixteen consecutive weeks each year, unless they have completed the highest grades taught in their school districts, and that the state furnish all school books to children attending public schools free of charge.

That all able-bodied men who have no visible means of support, who live in idleness upon the wages or earnings of their mother, wife or minor children, except male children over eighteen years of age, shall be deemed vagrants, and shall be punishable under laws relating to vagrancy.

That uniform laws on birth registration are recommended for all states.

That no female under seventeen and no male under nineteen years of age be allowed to marry, and that oaths to this effect be required before issuing license.

We recommend the enactment by various states of such laws as shall make it possible to definitely and positively establish the age of every child employed in a manufactory or in other establishments, and suitable penalties for the violation of same.

That the shop and factory laws of the various Southern states be extended and amplified in keeping with our industrial progress and advancing civilization, and that sufficient appropriation be made to provide for a force of inspection officers who will fairly cover the ground and who will prudently and firmly enforce all laws pertaining to the welfare and protection of those employed in the mines, shops, factories and manufacturing establishments.

That we recommend to all the states where women and children are employed that women inspectors should also be appointed.

That labor agents from other states be required to pay a license of $1,000.

We favor the enactment of laws providing for the proper sanitation, ventilation and lighting of all manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments and workshops; for the erection of adequate fire escapes and other means of egress in case of fire or other disasters; the installation of proper and adequate appliances for protection against dangerous machinery, beltings, hatchways, elevators and stairways; the screening of all stairways used by the female help, and separate toilet, dressing and wash-rooms for members of the opposite sexes; the furnishing of blowers or fans to carry off dust or smoke in all cases where such dust or smoke may be injurious to the health of the employees; and the installation of a sufficient number of seats for women and children to be used by them at such times when they are not actually engaged in the performance of the work at which they are employed.

WHEREAS, The results of the conference prove that only good can come from free interchange of views by the representatives of manufacturers and other employers of woman and child labor, and of the humane organizations;

Resolved, That this conference request that the General Assembly of Tennessee authorize the Governor of Tennessee to call a similar conference in the fall of the year 1910, for the same purpose, in some Southern city.

Upon the organization of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee, a resolution was passed asking the aid of the National Child Labor Committee in effecting the passage of the Child Labor Bill. I found that the bill as drawn included a provision for an eight-hour day for children under sixteen years of age. I told the Mississippi Committee that if my assistance was desired in this matter, I should have to insist, in good faith with the members of the conference, that the fifty-eight-hour schedule, instead of the forty-eight be adopted, and, upon my advice, the bill was re-written in this respect. Unfortunately, the same good faith was not evident on the part of the opponents of child labor legislation. One of the manufacturers, who was present at the Nashville conference, was also the owner of cotton mills in Mississippi. At the hearing given to the friends and enemies of child labor legislation by a committee of the Mississippi Legislature, he appeared in opposition to the bill of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee, which had been purposely drawn to keep within the recommendations of the conference at Nashville, for which he had voted, and the bill as finally passed was based upon the twelve-year age limit instead of the fourteen-year age limit as recommended by the Textile Conference.

In conclusion, I should like to throw out this challenge. We hear constantly the claims that are made by the manufacturers that they are friendly to reasonable legislation, and oppose only extreme measures. The recommendations proposed by the Textile Conference as a standard for the Southern States are the standards of child protective legislation for the civilized world. The labor unions throughout the South have bound themselves not to advocate a more drastic scheme of legislation for the protection of children in the next three years. The National Child Labor Committee has bound itself through the action of its secretary for the Southern States. What are the manufacturers going to do about it? What will be the action of their industrial organizations and of individual mill owners when these humane and reasonable measures for the protection of human life, for the protection of child life, are embodied into bills before our Southern legislatures? If they shall agree to this reasonable program—all honor to them! If they shall oppose it, let the responsibility rest where it belongs!

The papers presented at the third and fourth sessions appear under their various titles in this volume.

Following the addresses on the "Education of Mill Children in the South," by Rev. A. E. Seddon, and "Compulsory Education, the Solution of the Child Labor Problem," by Lewis W. Parker, of Greenville, S. C. (see pp. 40 to 56 of this volume), Dr. McKelway, the presiding officer at this session, made the following statement:

"I have never met Mr. Parker before, though we have had some very pleasant correspondence. But, having now heard his able address, I can understand better why it has been so hard for us to accomplish anything by way of improving the child labor law of South Carolina. While I believe

that law was a compromise between manufacturers and the friends of child labor reform, it is now claimed by the manufacturers as their law. I must say that it is not a law to boast of. There is no factory inspection and the twelve-year age limit is weakened by the provision that a child of any age, who is already handicapped by orphanage or by being the child of shiftless or dependent parents, may be further penalized by having the burden of his own support or the support of his parents bound upon his tender shoulders. I call attention to the fact that the case mentioned by Mr. Seddon, of the seven-year-old girl whom he found at work in one of the South Carolina mills, who had been working there for a year and a half, until this year under a twelve-hour day and now under an eleven-hour day, was not a violation of the South Carolina law, since the child was an orphan. Has not the proud State of South Carolina, with its humane people, something better to do with an orphan girl of five and a half years than to send her to the cotton mill? We have the photograph of this child actually engaged at work before a machine, and no one who looks at the picture will doubt her age to be as stated.

"As regards compulsory education, the program arranged for this meeting and the papers read will surely prove the interest of this committee in this cause. But it has been often pointed out that the manufacturers of the South, as a whole, are divided on this question of compulsory education. Some who favor it, as Mr. Parker and the South Carolina manufacturers, represented by himself, say that we must wait for a compulsory education law before we send the children out of the mills. Others say that compulsory education is a mistaken theory, and that, as a child labor law is not effective without compulsory education, therefore, the child labor law should not be passed at all. In either event, you see, the child of tenderest years may be kept in the mill. This committee is openly and unanimously for compulsory education as making more effective child labor legislation. When the manufacturers as a class cease their objection to it, the compulsory education laws will be enacted. The North Carolina manufacturers have published to the world that they are in favor of compulsory education. The North Carolina Legislature passed, over a year ago, a sort of local option compulsory education law, any school district being allowed to vote itself under the provisions of the general law. I have yet to hear of any mill district that has put itself under the compulsory education law.

"I am glad that Mr. Parker has said what he has about the educational advance made in the South. So far as advocacy with my pen is concerned, I have done what was in my power to aid in this great movement. But I call Mr. Parker's attention to some figures he did not quote from Census Bulletin No. 69, the figures as to the comparative illiteracy of the states at large and of the factory families within those states.

"In Georgia, the white illiterates ten to fourteen years of age are 10.4 per cent of the total. In the factory families, the illiterates of the same age are 44 per cent. In North Carolina the corresponding figures are 16.6 per cent and 50 per cent. In Mr. Parker's State of South Carolina the white illiterates of the state at large from ten to fourteen years of age are 14.8

per cent. The illiterates of the same ages in the factory families are 48.5 per cent. That is, the illiteracy of the children of the factories in these three states is three or four times as great as the illiteracy of white children of the same ages in the states at large. And the smaller percentage for the states at large includes the larger percentage of the factory families. It is not too much to say that the white illiteracy of these three states at least might be almost abolished if we could educate the children of the factory districts. The figures given by Mr. Parker as to school enrollment for the factory districts in South Carolina indicate some improvement since 1900. But there is an immense difference between school enrollment and the average attendance at school. The investigations of Mr. Seddon in South Carolina showed a great discrepancy between the two in the mill villages, as his paper has shown. In Mr. Parker's own mill, the Monaghan Mill, of whose educational and welfare work Mr. Seddon could not say too much in praise, out of the forty-one children personally examined, at work in the mill, one of nine years, one of sixteen, and the others between, there were twenty-eight illiterates. And in another of Mr. Parker's mills, the Granby Mill, of Columbia, where there was a very large attendance in the first four grades, above 95 per cent, it was found that about half of the children were half-timers, working half their time in the mill, an expedient which has been ruinous to the mill population of England, and which I hope Mr. Parker will abandon as soon as he learns of its harmful tendencies, certainly for children of the first four grades.

"Mr. Parker claims that a child labor law in the South is necessarily aimed at the cotton mills, and that a compulsory education law would be equal in its operations. I call attention to the fact that the compulsory education bill which Mr. Parker and his colleagues advocate has the low age limit of twelve years. So it would afford no protection at all to children over twelve and not to children under twelve during vacation. And with the school term often shorter than the vacation, one may readily imagine how much good it will do the children physically to spend say eight months in the mill and four months in school. But as to the child labor law being aimed at the cotton mills, Mr. Parker himself states a very natural reason when he says that eighty per cent of the employees in South Carolina industries are cotton mill operatives. The same admission is made when he says: It would be folly to contend that the proportion of children in the Southern cotton mills was no greater than in the cotton mills of other portions of the Union. And to this statement there should be added the statement of the Census Bulletin, which I quote from memory, that to a greater extent than any manufacturing industry the cotton mill is the employer of children. Certainly, if the cotton mill has attained this bad eminence, and the Southern cotton mill is the peak of the eminence, complaint should not be made that the child labor reform has the cotton mill in view. But there is still another reason why the cotton mill has become notorious for the employment of children, namely, that the cotton mill owners have been most conspicuously hostile to the cause of child labor reform. In every legislative battle in which I have been engaged, with the exception of the one in

Florida, where there is but one cotton mill, the cotton manufacturers have presented practically a united front against child labor legislation—in North Carolina, in South Carolina, in Georgia, in Alabama, in Mississippi—and even where the law has been enacted they have generally succeeded in forcing in a provision that has made the law largely ineffective. When they cease to be known as the enemies of this reform they may perhaps not have reason to complain that a child labor law is aimed at them. However, the laws, so far as I know them, speak of 'manufacturing establishments,' and not 'cotton mills.'

"Mr. Parker takes up considerable space in his paper on compulsory education in attacking the statements made by the National Child Labor Committee and its officers. It might appear, at first blush, a little singular that any one really in favor of this reform should endeavor to weaken the influence and attack the good name of the only national organization in this country which is formed solely for the purpose of abolishing this evil. The statements criticised are now about two years old. The advertisement, if correctly quoted, asking for help to rescue 'two million children from premature labor,' was written before the census department had analyzed its own figures of the census of 1900. In the census a million and three-quarters of children under sixteen were denominated 'breadwinners, engaged in gainful occupations.' From the alarming increase of child labor indicated in that census it was believed that there were two million breadwinners. The child breadwinner on the farm is not the boy who works for his father without wages, he is in one sense or another hired out. Still, the statement that two million children needed rescue from premature employment was perhaps extreme, although some authorities contend that the census department has been compelled to understate the real facts, because parents who have already made false statements about the ages of the children at work in order to obtain a certificate, would be likely to repeat the falsehood to the census taker.

"However, I attempted some analysis of the census figures, as early as 1904, and Mr. Parker was seemingly so much pleased with that address that he sent to me more than once for copies to distribute. In that paper I said: 'Among those under sixteen years of age counted by the census makers as engaged in gainful occupations, by far the greatest number are at work on the farm. And by the operation of the tenant system and the landlord's contract for a certain number of hands, thousands of children, especially among the negroes, are counted as engaged in gainful occupations who would not be enumerated except for the tenant system. This is a kind of child labor that does not interfere even with school attendance in the winter months, and is beneficial in the direction of physical development.' I reiterate that statement with which Mr. Parker was already familiar. But we take issue with him when he says that a child labor law has nothing to do with children under sixteen. It has most emphatically, as to the hours of labor, as to night work and as to opportunity for education.

"In quoting from my address in Cincinnati, 'The Awakening of the South Against Child Labor,' Mr. Parker makes an omission which is significant. The census had given the rate per cent of children under sixteen in

Southern cotton mills as thirty per cent. Mr. Parker omits to mention that the manufacturers gave the total number of operatives in their own reports to the 'Blue Book,' their textile publication, namely, 209,000. The crime of which I am accused is that of multiplying the base by the rate to find the percentage of 62,700 children from ten to fourteen years of age. If there is any other rule by which the manufacturers obtain the desired result, I shall be glad to learn the new arithmetic.

"It was my opinion, based on considerable observation, that, a year ago, the rate had increased, on account of the scarcity of labor, to which Mr. Parker refers, and the movement, carefully investigated, of the small families from the mill to the farm and of the large families from the farm to the mill. I emphasize the fact that we now have an estimate from a manufacturer that there are only 9,000 children under fourteen in all the Southern cotton mills. Mr. August Kohn, a most friendly critic of the South Carolina cotton mills, declared last year that there were fifteen hundred children in the mills of South Carolina alone under twelve. I should hate to believe that after the last two years of agitation and legislation on this subject in the South and with the prospect of further restriction by 1910, the census of that year should not show some improvement. But I should be overjoyed to find that Mr. Parker's estimate of 9,000 was then correct.

"As to the efforts of the South Carolina manufacturers to obtain compulsory education, birth registration and a marriage license law, I am in entire sympathy, though the proffer of our aid in these matters was respectfully declined by a South Carolina manufacturer. If Mr. Parker will go to the bottom of this subject, he will find that the early marriages and the wife desertion, against which he so eloquently protests in the appeal to the South Carolina Legislature, are the legitimate fruits of the child labor system with its inevitable disintegration of family life.

"And I could wish that the South Carolina manufacturers who have been for so many years advocating these laws, without success, were as effective in constructive legislation as they have been in obstructing and emasculating the child labor legislation for the protection of the children."

At the fifth session, Saturday morning, April 4th, further reports were presented by state and local committees, and addresses were made by Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops of Ohio, on "Essentials of Factory Inspection," and by Miss Jean M. Gordon, Factory Inspector of Louisiana, on "Why the Children are in the Factories."

Following these papers the Conference joined in a general discussion of factory inspection. In this discussion the value of adequate authority for factory inspectors and school officials was shown and the duty of the private citizen to aid in law enforcement was urged by the factory and school officials present.

On Saturday afternoon a meeting was held at the Jewish Temple, at which Rabbi David Marx presided and addresses were delivered by Edward W. Frost, Edward T. Devine, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Owen R. Lovejoy. This meeting was followed by a reception given in the parlors of the Temple

by the Atlanta Council of Jewish Women, at which the delegates and guests of the National Committee were given an opportunity to meet the minister and members of the congregation whose interest has been so pronounced in local child labor reform. Other receptions, which added to the pleasure of the annual meeting, were given on Thursday afternoon by the Atlanta Woman's Club, at the Grand Opera House, and on Friday afternoon by Mrs. J. Warren Boyd at her home. The local committees made ample arrangement for the entertainment of the conference, the number of gatherings being limited only by the time at the disposal of the delegates.

The topic at the seventh session was "Child Labor and the State." The addresses on "The Consumers' Responsibility for Child Labor," by Mrs. Florence Kelley, and "The New View of the Child," by Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., appear in other parts of this volume. Mrs. A. O. Granger, representing the General Federation of Women's Clubs, addressed the meeting on "Club Women and Child Labor," and spoke as follows:

"One of the recognized causes of child labor is the non-observance, or entire lack, of two important laws, one compelling the registration of all births and the other directing that every child be obliged to attend school until it has acquired at least a rudimentary education. It is no longer practicable to accept the word of a parent who desires his child to work in the mill. Careful mill-owners must be aided by requiring parents to show proof of the ages of their children.

"In our public school education, we need many changes from the present curriculum in order to fit the children for life's work, and now I speak for the women of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. The crying need of our schools to-day is manual training. The boy or girl who goes through a school course without industrial training has developed very little skill with the fingers. When quickness of eye and hand are developed, in doing work at once useful and interesting, the pupil entering the field of mechanical labor will be fitted to appreciate fine machinery and to be careful in its management, and there will be fewer machines made temporarily useless by carelessness. With a course properly arranged for the training of eye, ear, hand and brain there will be only a brief struggle against 'compulsory' education.

"The rapid growth of welfare work among the mills of our own and neighboring states is undoubtedly due in large measure to the interest awakened by club women. When one manufacturer tells us of the economic mistake of employing children too young, and another says 'ten hours is plenty long enough,' and still another says, 'When I must run my mill at night I'll seek some other business,' we know that we are doing right in seeking a shorter working day, and no night work, for children under sixteen. In every legislative body there are broad-minded legislators willing to do their best to correct evils when brought to their notice, and in every state there are women on the alert to explain the needs of the children and to ask for new amendments or to prevent the passage of vicious bills.

"In the beginning it was a frequent thing for club women to hear themselves spoken of as 'meddlesome' or 'sentimental,' but the testimony of facts

to the needs of the children took away the sting of such epithets. They heard of the little boys in an Indiana wood-working mill escaping by jumping from the rear fire escape while the inspector was detained in the office; of an Ohio factory where the cellar and a certain large closet hide the children under legal age when the inspector comes around; of little girls in a Pennsylvania silk mill being turned out unguarded into midnight darkness; they heard of the little glass-worker who toils all night every other week in the hot factory. They know the child's birthright—healthful surroundings, fresh air, proper education and a great deal of play and sleep. They know also the danger coming to our country from excessive wealth and extravagant living, as seen by those who through overwork or unsanitary conditions have lost both physical health and moral stamina, and they are striving to have a quieting influence on both extremes of our modern civilization.

"The club woman wants a child labor law which shall be effective all over the country, North, South, East and West, and here in Georgia she wants three things: A birth registration law with penalty for non-observance. A compulsory industrial education law, which shall prepare children for skilled labor, yet keep them from it until properly developed. And for our child labor law, amendments which shall do away with all exceptions; limit the work of children to ten hours a day; forbid all night work for boys or girls under sixteen; and provide a proper number of inspectors to be appointed by the governor."

The last session of the conference was a mass meeting in the Grand Opera House on Sunday afternoon, April 5th, under the general topic, "The Physical and Religious Aspects of Child Labor." Addresses were delivered by Chancellor James H. Kirkland, Hon. Hoke Smith, Rev. J. W. Stagg, D.D., and Miss Jean M. Gordon. With the exception of the third, these addresses are published in other portions of this volume.

Miss Kate Barnard, of Oklahoma, addressed the conference on "The New State and Its Children," and spoke as follows:

"It is pleasing to the people who represent the higher thought to find that in America there is a National Child Labor Committee which spends its time and thought, not on the tall sky-scrapers, not on the trade and commerce and the business interests of the world, but upon the question of how to improve America's little boys and girls. The greatest of all our responsibilities is the debt we owe to the little children. It is not because we wish to take issue with the great manufacturers, or to lessen their profits or in any way harm their interests that we agitate the child problem in America. It is rather to bring an opportunity to every little human atom to grow and develop and become beautiful in heart and mind and soul; and it is also to save the thoughtless manufacturer from blighting and marring a frail little human life. It is also for the protection of our national life and our national health that we plead; for what can these children, betrayed in the morning of their youth, and wrecked in morals and health and family—what can they bequeath to posterity, excepting their counterpart; and how else can we account for the tuberculosis and the many other diseases which are sweeping our nation, excepting that the origin of these infections is traced

to the sweat-shops, night work in the glass factories, the lint of the loom and the dust of the coal breaker?

"In Oklahoma we are trying, through wise legislation, to produce a moral atmosphere and a physical soil in which we may grow little human plants as beautiful as these I have at my elbow here. These flowers which beautify the world and throw out their fragrance to man—these, Luther Burbank has told us, are only weeds, cultivated so carefully and nurtured so tenderly that they have developed and blossomed into roses like these. And so we would cultivate in Oklahoma the human plant to its full fragrance and beauty and excellence.

"In order to do this, we are passing compulsory education and child labor laws, we have provided a juvenile court and an industrial school, and have enacted the various kinds of legislation which reach down like human hands to protect our delicate childhood. It is sad to me to hear, and most difficult to believe, that in your beautiful Southland, where the roses and magnolias bloom, and where hearts are warm and sincere and sympathetic, where nature and God seem to combine to make the world beautiful,—it is almost impossible for me to believe, that in your beautiful Southland of Georgia little human beings are hidden away in factories, that in the midst of deafening roar and blinding dust little human blossoms are crushed and faded and going to waste, just like the dry, dead autumn leaves which you trample under your feet.

"In Oklahoma we would do differently, and when hereafter you meet your friends of the North and East and West and South, tell them that out to the westward where the evening sun is setting, a new civilization is being builded up—a civilization which deigns not to protect its industries at the expense of a little child. Tell them the boys and girls who in later generations come out of Oklahoma will represent and typify the highest ideals in mind and body and soul. If the test of civilization is the attitude the strong bear towards the weak, you may tell them that in Oklahoma our civilization is the grandest in the world. We may not be able in our youth to compete with you from a financial standpoint, but we are determined that our new civilization shall be such as to point upward for all the older civilizations of the world. We are not content with protecting the babies only; we have a newer thought and a higher ideal. We believe in the fathers and mothers of Oklahoma, so we are enacting wise legislation to save the fathers from the terrors of our industries and bring them safely home in the evening to their own firesides.

"We have enacted a law which will protect the miner from the gas and black-damp as he delves away so industriously in the dark under-world. We have passed a mining bill, which will insure to the coal diggers the greatest protection that has ever been given them in the history of the world, and this mining bill will save the fathers of little children—ten thousand working men. We have passed a scaffolding bill, which calls for extra screws and heavy planks and strong boards to protect the carpenter. We have passed a bill which compels the railroads to turn the steam off their engines before men enter the red-hot boilers to calk the flues. We have created a depart-

ment of factory inspection and a department of charities as divisions of our state government. We are anxious to build such a civilization that all the world will come to view our splendid men and women.

"I had almost forgotten to tell you that for the boys and girls of Oklahoma nothing in legislation would do but the very best. Hence we sent for your Southern Secretary, Dr. McKelway, a leader in the national child labor work, to help us with our child labor bill; and we sent for Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, Colo., to help us with our juvenile court measure; and to Oklahoma came also Hastings H. Hart, of Chicago, and Alexander Johnson, the Secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and the splendid Prison Congress President, Samuel J. Barrows. And all these men lectured before our legislature with the one thought of gaining the very best legislation for the Oklahoma child."

The following resolutions were presented by Dr. A. J. McKelway and unanimously adopted, after which the sessions of the fourth annual meeting were formally adjourned:

Resolved, That the National Child Labor Committee, in convention assembled, has heard with pleasure of the great work the governor and legislature of Oklahoma are doing for the protection of the children, and hopes that the legislation now pending will be adopted and that other states will emulate her example.

Resolved, That we hereby endorse the District of Columbia child labor bill now pending in Congress, and urge its passage for the protection of the children at our national capital.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Committee and its guests and friends are hereby tendered to the people of Atlanta for their abounding hospitality; to the governor of Georgia for the delightful reception tendered us; to individuals and clubs, too numerous to mention, for courtesies extended, and to the three daily newspapers for the space freely given to the reports of the meeting and their unanimous advocacy of our cause.

STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN CO-OPERATION OR AFFILIATION WITH THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.—George M. Kober, M.D., 1603 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

Georgia Child Labor Committee.—Hon. Clifford L. Anderson, Atlanta, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 412 Courtland Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

Hull House Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Ill.—Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Chairman; Mrs. Harriet M. Van Der Vaart, 6710 May Street, Chicago, Secretary.

Iowa Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Isaac A. Loos, Iowa City, Chairman; Hon. Edward D. Brigham, Des Moines, Secretary.

Kentucky Child Labor Association.—Lafon Allen, Louisville, President; Mrs. R. P. Halleck, 1240 Third Avenue, Louisville, Secretary.

Maine Child Labor Committee.—Scott Wilson, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. Ella Jordan Mason, Biddeford, Secretary.

Maryland Child Labor Committee.—Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Chairman; H. Wirt Steele, 101 W. Saratoga Street, Baltimore, Secretary.

Child Labor Committee of the Southwest District of the Federated Charities of Baltimore.—Elizabeth Gilman, 614 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Secretary.

Committee on Child Labor and Legislation of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts.—Edith M. Howes, 416 Marlboro Street, Boston, Chairman.

Michigan Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Frank T. Carlton, Albion, Secretary.

Inter-Church Child Labor Committee, Grand Rapids, Michigan.—Mrs. H. Gaylord Holt, 28 Wellington Place, Grand Rapids, Chairman; Mrs. W. K. Morley, 300 Bates Street, Grand Rapids, Secretary.

Mississippi Child Labor Committee.—Mrs. R. L. McLaurin, Vicksburg, Chairman; Judge T. E. Cooper, Jackson, Chairman Legislative Committee; Mrs. Corinne Deupree Bailey, University, Secretary.

Children's Protective Alliance of Missouri.—Mrs. Philip N. Moore, 3125 Lafayette Avenue, St. Louis, Chairman; Prof. Edgar James Swift, Washington University, St. Louis, Secretary.

Nebraska Child Labor Committee.—Dr. George Elliott Howard, Lincoln, Chairman; Rev. Stephen P. Morris, 408 City Hall, Omaha, Secretary.

New York Child Labor Committee.—Mornay Williams, 25 Liberty Street, New York, Chairman; George A. Hall, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, Secretary.

North Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Rt. Rev. J. B. Cheshire, Raleigh, Chairman; C. L. Coon, Wilson, Secretary.

Ohio Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, 19 W. Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Chairman.

Child Labor League of Warren, Ohio.—Miss Phebe T. Sutliff, 234 High Street, Warren, Chairman.

Child Labor Committee of Oklahoma.—Mrs. D. M. Thorpe, Oklahoma City, President; Miss Kate Barnard, Guthrie, Secretary.

Oregon Child Labor Commission.—H. G. Kundret, 43½ Second Street, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, 305 Jefferson Street, Portland, Secretary.

Pennsylvania Child Labor Association (in process of organization).

Philadelphia Child Labor Committee.—J. Lynn Barnard, 108 E. Greenwood Avenue, Lansdowne, Chairman; Fred S. Hall, 1338 Real Estate Building, Philadelphia, Secretary.

Allegheny County Child Labor Association.—John W. Anthony, Pittsburg, President; Miss Ada Weihl, Columbian Council, Pittsburg, Secretary.

Rhode Island Child Labor Committee.—Right Rev. W. N. McVickar, Providence, Chairman.

Joint Committee on Child Labor for Rhode Island.—Mrs. Carl Barus, 30 Elmgrove Avenue, Providence, Chairman.

Tennessee Child Labor Committee.—Dr. James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chairman; Rev. J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Secretary.

Virginia Child Labor Committee.—Hon. Eugene C. Massie, Richmond, Chairman; Rev. James Buchanan, D.D., Secretary.

Newport News (Va.) Child Labor Committee.—J. H. Williams, Newport News, Chairman; John B. Locke, Vice-Chairman; Charles E. Heim, Secretary.

Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.—Edward W. Frost, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Chairman; H. H. Jacobs, University Settlement, Milwaukee, Secretary.

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67. "APPEAL FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHILD LABOR BILL." Pp. 4.

68. "PROGRAM FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, HELD AT ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 2-5, 1908. Pp. 8.

69. "CHILD LABOR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS." A volume containing the papers, addresses, and proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Committee. Pp. 180. Price, cloth bound, $1.25; paper binding, $1.00. 1908.

The papers and addresses of the Fourth Annual Meeting, printed separately in pamphlet form, are available for free distribution as follows:

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71. "THE NEW VIEW OF THE CHILD." By Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., Editor, "Charities and the Commons," and Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University. Pp. 8.

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